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HISTORY OF SPAIN

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A

HISTORY OF SPAIN

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC

BY

ULICK RALPH BURKE, M.A.

SECOND EDITION

EDITED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION,

BY

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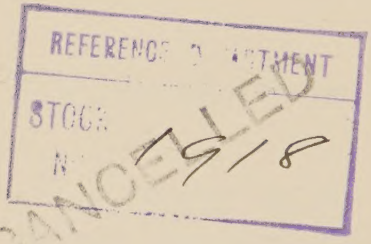
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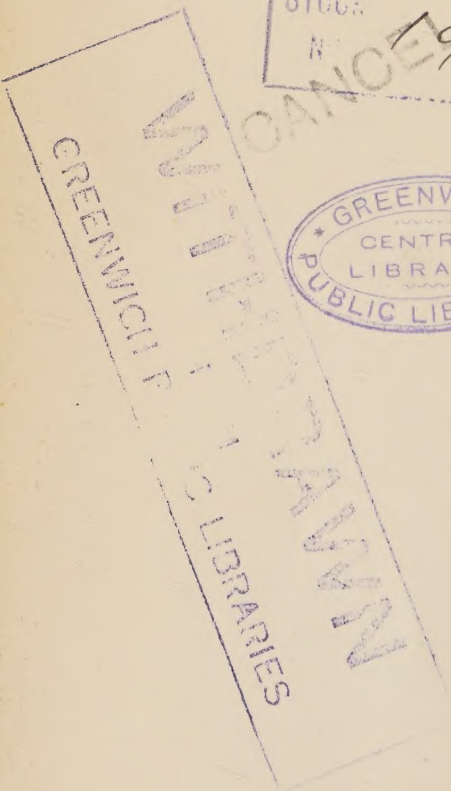
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HISTORY OF SPAIN.

CHAPTER XXXV.

LITERATURE.

(1375—1475.)

If Alvaro de Luna was at once the most important personage and the most remarkable man in the kingdom of Castile during the reign of John II., the king was not without more worthy and less masterful favourites, whose learning provoked no jealousy on the part of the minister. From the death of Alfonso X. neither science nor polite letters had been held in much esteem in Spain. His nephew, indeed, Don John Manuel, in his Moral Tales; the archpriest of Hita, in his fantastic poetry; Lopez de Ayala, in his simple Chronicle, had almost alone maintained the honour of Castilian letters from the days of *Count Lucanor* to the days of the Marquis of Santillana, a period of close upon 200 years.[1]

But with John II. a new era was opened in Castile. The temper of the king, unlike that of his great predecessor, was literary rather than scientific, pedantic rather than scholarly, formal rather than substantial, graceful rather than profound. The new influence came rather from Italy than from Andalusia. Aragon, the refuge and the home of the Provençal troubadours in the thirteenth century, had stretched out her hands in the fourteenth century to Sicily, and in the fifteenth century to Naples;[2] and long before the time of Ferdinand the Catholic,

[1] Gayangos and Ticknor, *Hist. de la literatura Española* (1864), Introd., p. 6. (Lopez de Ayala's *Rimado de Palacio* must not be forgotten. It is true that the three writers named were, with the author of the *Poema de José Sem Tob*, and Yañez the author of the rhymed chronicle of Alfonso XI., the only men who illustrated literature in Spain in the fourteenth century, yet they produced work of the first importance.—H.)

[2] According to Bruce-Whyte, *Histoire des Langues Romanes* (Paris, 1841), tom. ii., cap. xxviii., the Castilian language was hardly affected in its development by the language of the *Gay saber*; yet it was to some extent the Provençal that com-

who cared little for the polite letters of any nation or country, the kingdom of Aragon, rich with the intellectual as well as the material spoils of Italy, had conquered literary Castile. Yet the vanquished surpassed and survived the victor. The spirit of Italy died away in United Spain; the language of Provence was forgotten; and in another century the Castilian literature became the admiration of Europe, while the Castilian language was spoken throughout the world.[1]

As far as poetry is concerned, from the middle of the fourteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century Aragon was far ahead of Castile. Peter the Cruel was not a man to cultivate polite letters. His rival at Saragossa was not only a poet, but a patron of poets; and it was for him that Jacme or Jayme, the first of the distinguished family of March, compiled, in 1371, the *Diccionario de Rimas*. His more distinguished namesake, Augustin or Ausias March, the great light of Aragonese literature in the fifteenth century, was born at Valencia, probably about 1405, and lived to 1460. He wrote a large number of *cants*, or small poems, in the style of Petrarch, which were applauded by his contemporaries, and frequently printed during the sixteenth century. His friend, Jaume or Jayme Roig, a Valencian like himself, who survived him by some eighteen years (*ob.* 1478), and who is supposed to have been court physician to the high-spirited Queen Maria, the regent of Aragon during the continued absence of Alfonso V., has left a *Libre de Consells*, directed chiefly against the female sex, and written nominally for the edification and government of his nephew Belthazar.[2]

pleted the Latin. *Ibid.*, i., 12. As regards literature, the Provençal influence was indirect rather than direct in Castile.

[1] The Provençal language or dialect had certainly died out in Aragon in the fourteenth century. And about the middle of that century the Catalan became the literary language of the country. Bruce-Whyte, *ubi supra*, tom. ii., 406-412. (This note conveys a somewhat false impression—Provençal was never the language of the people of the *Kingdom of Aragon*. It was the language of literature under the influence of the troubadours; and Catalan—a form of Provençal—was, and still is, the common speech of the Catalans; but the Aragonese have always spoken a similar language with Castilians.—H.)

[2] The philosophic basis of the works of Ausias March is insisted upon by Señor Menendez Pelayo, *Hist. de las ideas Esteticas en España*, i., 392-4, where will also be found some interesting references, and a list of the works in Spanish literature treating of Ausias March and his school. (The reader should be again reminded that the author is apt to refer to Catalans and Valencians, whose respective countries were ruled by kings of Aragon, as if they were Aragonese. This was very far from being the case. March was a pure Valencian, writing in the Valencian variety of Catalan, and his works reflected glory on Valencia and Catalonia, but in no sense upon the kingdom of Aragon.—H.)

Of the various minor poets whose names are scarce remembered, and whose works are assuredly forgotten, no more need be said than that they lived. And of the ephemeral verses of the refined cavaliers who vied with and patronised them, no more need be said than that they were written.

After Ferdinand of Castile had brought peace to Aragon at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the *Consistories* or feasts of poetry were revived with much enthusiasm at Tortosa; the king in person presided at the literary contests and distributed prizes among the successful competitors.

In Castile already in the reign of Henry III., Alfonso Alvarez de Villa Sandino of Illescas had written some verses in the Provençal or courtly style, which were admired by his contemporaries; and a certain Francisco Imperial, of a Sevillian family, wrote a poem in the early days of John II. upon an adventure in the camp of Tamerlane,[1] which has received the commendation of Ticknor.

The first notable man of letters in Castile after the death of Ayala, if not since the time of the archpriest of Hita, was Henry of Aragon, surnamed the Astrologer, and sometimes erroneously spoken of as Marquis of Villena,[2] a title which was borne only by his grandfather. Descended on his father's side from the royal house of Aragon, and on his mother's from the royal house of Castile,[3] Henry of Aragon sought fame neither as a soldier nor a politician; and he was the first royal or noble student in Castile since the days of Alfonso X. (except Juan Manual) who was content with the peaceful career of a scholar and a man of letters. Born in 1384, his youth was spent at the court of Castile. In 1412 he followed his kinsman Ferdinand to Aragon, and lived in his most honourable company until the king's death

[1] For this adventure and for the embassies sent by Henry III. to the court of Bajazet and Tamerlane, see *ante*, vol. i., chapter xxxi. (Francisco Imperial was the son of a Genoese settled in Seville, and was one of the first writers to introduce the new influence of the Italian spirit into Spanish poetry, imitating Dante, as he did closely.—H.)

[2] The old Marquis of Villena, the only grandee in Spain who was then entitled to use the title of marquis, had been invested with that dignity by the favour of Henry of Trastamara; but the title was withdrawn from him, we know not why, by Henry III. The mistake seems to have been first made by Pellicer, and has been copied by Ticknor and other writers. Vide Salazar de Mendoza, *Monarquia de España*, i., 206.

[3] Salazar de Mendoza, *Origen de las Dignidades* (1618), lib. iii., cap. xii.

In consequence of Ticknor's blunder, this Henry of Aragon, miscalled Marquis of Villena, had been further confounded with the contemptible favourite *Pacheco*, who assumed the title of Villena some years after the death of Henry of Aragon, by favour of the no less contemptible Henry IV.

only four years later, when he returned to Castile; and, having obtained the petty lordship of Iniestra, near Cuenca, he passed the rest of his life as a poor but contented student, ever welcome at the court of Castile, but enjoying, for the most part, a learned leisure at his country retreat. He died at Madrid in 1434, when his line became extinct; and his works have hardly sufficed to preserve his great name from oblivion. The *Arte Cisoria*, a prose treatise on carving, a curious pedantic composition of no literary merit, gives an interesting picture of the domestic economy of the palace and the service at the royal table in the fifteenth century. The *Arte de Trovar* or *Gaya Ciencia*,[1]—a work of a very different character—a translation[2] of Cicero's *Rhetoric*, and a translation of Dante's *Divina Commedia*[3] have all perished; and the interest that now attaches to them is rather that such works were written at all, than for any literary merit they may have possessed. Of a translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, seven books only of very poor verse have been preserved. It is the man himself rather than any of his works that is interesting to us, as he undoubtedly was to his contemporaries.

A barbarous age, indeed, could see in the varied accomplishments of this learned and cultivated student only the necromantic skill so suggestive to the popular imagination. Neglected as he was, and despised during his life, popular exaggeration speedily converted him into a magician of wondrous power; the legend grew until there was nothing too wild to be attributed to him. He had caused himself to be cut up and packed in a flask with certain conjurations so as to become immortal; he had rendered himself invisible with the herb Andromeda; he had turned the sun blood-red with the stone heliotrope; he had brought rain and tempest with a copper vessel; he had divined the future with the stone chelonites; he had given his shadow to the devil in the cave of San Cebrian; every feat of magic was attributed to him. He became the

[1] Don Henry of Aragon was President of the Poetic Consistory of Barcelona, and it was in that capacity that he addressed to the Marquis of Santillana his *Arte de Trovar*, with a view of persuading him to introduce the *Gaya Ciencia* into Castile, and to adopt in his own writings the style of the Provençal poetry.

How much higher were the aims and aspirations of the great Marquis of Santillana, I endeavour to show further on.

[2] A fragment of the *Arte de Trovar* is printed in the *Origenes de la Lengua Española*, chap. v.

[3] The *Divina Commedia* had already been translated into Catalan by one Febrer in 1428.

inexhaustible theme of playwright and storyteller, and remains to the present day the favourite magician of the Spanish stage.[1]

A man of a very different stamp, Juan de Mena, the chronicler of King John II. of Castile[2] is remembered not only for his history, but for his weak, if somewhat graceful verses. His *Laberinto,* usually spoken of as the *Trescientos,* from the number of couplets of which the poem consists, which was highly appreciated at the court of John II. is a poor imitation of the style of the all-inspiring Dante ; his *Siete Pecados* is a pedantic, theological, and metaphysical *Morality ;* his most remarkable work is perhaps his *Coronacion*—the coronation on Mount Parnassus of the Marquis of Santillana, a eulogy on that distinguished Castilian, also in a style of the *Divina Commedia.*

Juan de Mena, an historian as well as a poet, did more than any of his predecessors since Alfonso X. to augment and enrich the poetic vocabulary of Castile. He introduced new words, revised old forms, and had a great and happy influence upon the development of the language of United Spain. But the most distinguished writer in Castile in the time of John II. was certainly Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, *"gloria y delicias de la corte de Castilla".* Born in 1398, he assisted at the early age of seventeen at the coronation of Ferdinand of Aragon at Saragossa (1414), and he afterwards took his place at the court of John II., where he was ever an honoured guest. Brave in battle, wise in council, graceful in conversation, respected in every walk of life, he pursued his active career in camp and palace and castle, until after the celebrated battle of Olmedo in 1445 he was rewarded with the title of marquis, which had as yet been borne only by a single nobleman in Castile, the royal Henry of Villena.

His relations with the king and with Alvaro de Luna his political foe for over thirty years were governed by the finest tact and discretion ; and while maintaining his own position and dignity at court, he refrained from giving offence to the favourite,

[1] Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles,* i., 582 *et seq. ;* Lea, *History of the Inquisition,* iii., 490, 491. A little prose treatise on the Trabajos de Hercules was printed in 1483, and was apparently admired by contemporary critics ; but is now interesting only as a bibliographical curiosity, *uno de los libros mas raros que existen.* Gayangos and Ticknor, *op. cit.,* xviii., note 33.

[2] It is extremely doubtful whether Juan de Mena wrote the Chronicle of John II. The most competent critics are generally agreed that he did not ; and Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly inclines to the belief that the chronicle was written by Alvar Garcia de Santa Maria.—H.

who respected, if he did not love, the man who was too proud to seek to be his rival. On the fall of the constable in 1453, the marquis[1] withdrew from the court, and devoted himself exclusively to the pursuits of literature, until his death some five years afterwards, in 1458.

During these last years, we are told, so widespread was his literary fame, that students came from every country in Europe "expressly to see him and hear him"; and every fresh visitor was made welcome at his palace.[2] At this time, too, the young Constable of Portugal, who afterwards assumed the title of King of Aragon in 1463, sent an envoy with a most respectful request to the marquis to be allowed to have a copy of his poems. The answer with which the marquis despatched the precious MS. contains a list of all the Spanish poets whose works were at that time known, and is said by Ticknor to be "the most important document that we possess relating to the ancient literature of Castile".[3]

In the poetry of the Marquis of Santillana the spirit of Aragon and the spirit of Italy are both perceived, but his genius evolved something different from either; something in itself original, national, full of life and vigour, recognisable as the poetry of United Spain. The *Serranillas*, the most celebrated of his early poems, are to some extent influenced by the Provençal style. But the Italian masters, as was but natural, were afterwards his chief delight. He read Boccaccio and Petrarch. He translated large portions of Dante. He was the first to introduce into Castilian poetry the purely Italian form of the sonnet. But he was no mere imitator. The glories and beauties of the literature of Italy may have inspired his fancy; but his genius was not Italian but Spanish. His historic poem, *Las Edades del mundo* (1426), is of no great value. His verses on the fall and death of Alvaro de Luna are in every respect admirable, and are the work of a great man, as well as of an accomplished poet. But in variety of interest his *Comedieta de Ponza* is perhaps the most remarkable of all his works. It was written in 1435, and gives an account of the great naval combat in which Alfonso of Aragon and his brother John of Navarre, were taken prisoners, and their fleet destroyed by the Duke of Milan, off Terracina, near the island of Ponza. The poem is written in imitation of

[1] See Pulgar, *Claros varones*, etc.

[2] Juan de Mena, *Coronacion*, *Prolog.* (ed. 1566), fo. 260.

[3] It is printed in the collection of Sanchez, tom. i. See also Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Literature*, vol. i., chap. xix.

certain passages in the *Inferno*, especially part of canto vii.; and the story is told as in a dream or vision, after the manner of the great Florentine. As a history the work is valuable; as an imitation it is noteworthy; but it is the dramatic form in which the dialogue is cast that constitutes the most interesting and certainly the most original feature in the poem.

"The Dance of Death," or *Danza general de los muertos*, written in the middle of the fourteenth century, is the first work in the Spanish language that can be said to contain even the germ of the later drama. Next in order comes the *Comedieta de Ponza*, in the middle of the fifteenth century. After this, and imbued still more distinctly with the dramatic form and spirit, is the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, a pastoral dialogue of the latter part of the fifteenth century, in which the vices and bad government of Henry IV. are set forth in picturesque and vigorous language. The verses are attributed by most critics to one Rodrigo della Cota or Cotta, but by Mariana, with his usual inaccuracy, to the chronicler Hernando del Pulgar.[1]

Of national drama as yet there was none. Nor can we fairly speak of its existence until the time of Lope de Rueda,[2] whose first *Paso* is dated as late as 1544. But while students and critics may alike admire the complex development of the *Comedieta de Ponza*, the most popular work of the great Marquis de Santillana has ever been his simple and eminently national collection of Castilian proverbs, selected by desire of John II. for the education of his son, afterwards the graceless Henry IV. As far as its immediate objects are concerned, the work must be pronounced a signal failure. But if the *Centiloquio* was disregarded by Henry the Impotent, it has been the delight of many worthy men at home and abroad, and the work—after enjoying a considerable amount of popularity in MS.—was printed, in 1496, under the title of one hundred *Proverbios y su glosa*, and passed through no less than ten editions in the course of the next century.[3]

[1] See Lafuente, ix., pp. 85, 86; and Ticknor, i., p. 236.

[2] According to M. Germond de Lavigne, *La Comédie Espagnole* (1883) Introd., p. viii., all these early essays cannot be considered as a part of the true drama of Spain. *Ce fut Lope de Rueda*, according to the French critic, *qui créa le genre véritablement national*; and the first *Paso* that was written by Rueda is dated 1544. As to the nature of these *Pasos*, or passages in human life, little dramas in one scene, and the *Saynetes*, or condiments (something piquant), see G. de Lavigne, *ubi supra*, x.-xii. It was only Naharro, a successor of Rueda, who introduced anything like scenery into the Spanish theatre. *Cf. Essai sur le Théatre Espagnol*, par Louis de Viel-Castel (1882), 2 tom.

[3] Another and a larger collection of Spanish proverbs was compiled by Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis de Santillana, "*á ruego del Rey Don Johan*," under

As long as the language of Castile has had a distinct existence, the Castilian proverbs have been widely and justly celebrated. And they seem to be at once wiser, wittier and more numerous than those of any other nation in Europe. The occupation of so large a portion of the Peninsula by the Arabs, whose language is exceedingly rich in proverbial expressions, is fairly assigned as one, though it is only one of many causes of this fertility; yet, although there are still very many Spanish proverbs which bear about them the most unmistakable signs of their oriental origin, Andalusia, where that influence is naturally most marked, is comparatively poor in proverbs; while Gallicia, where the Arabs never obtained a footing, is remarkably rich, and is apparently the birthplace of many of those most current in pure Castilian. The use of proverbs in Spain is not restricted to the vulgar, nor yet to the conversation of the more lettered. Almost every writer, as well as every speaker, has taken a keen delight in introducing them, and it has been well said that he who would most fully appreciate the genius of the Spanish language in its native purity, and most justly judge the Spanish people in their characteristic simplicity and shrewdness, should devote special attention to the ancient proverbs of the country.[1]

Another noble Castilian writer of the time of John II. is Fernan Perez de Guzman, a half-brother of the Marquis of Santillana, and a nephew of Pedro Lopez de Ayala. He was born in 1400, and distinguished himself greatly at the glorious but undecisive battle of Higueruela in Granada in 1431. An object of envy to Alvaro de Luna, he chose to withdraw from the king's court rather than to submit himself to the favourite, and retiring to his estate at Batres he devoted the remainder of his days to literature.

Of his poetical compositions the most important is his *Loores*

the title of *Refranes que dicen las viejas tras el fuego, ordenados por el orden del A. B. C.* This collection, which includes no less than 800 proverbs, is printed in the *Dialogo de las Lenguas*, and may be found in the reprint of that work by Gregorio Mayans y Siscar (1873), pp. 149-181, with observations on certain proverbs.

[1] Some of the best and most characteristic of these proverbs occur in the ballads, as for example that admirable one, "If the pill had a pleasant taste, they wouldn't gild it outside," a proverb thoroughly Spanish in its shrewd sense and dry humour, and that more famous one which is still a popular saying in Spain, *Mas Moros, mas ganancia*, "The more the Moors, the bigger the booty," with which, according to the ballad, the Cid reassured Ximena when she looked with dismay from her tower in the Alcazar on the host assembled for the recovery of Valencia; a proverb which, according to Richard Ford, hits off the Cid to the life—his boldness, his firm self-reliance, and his keen eye to the main chance. See Richard Ford, Introduction to *Handbook of Spain*, in any of the early editions.

de los claros Varones de España, a work of historical as well as of literary interest, but he is best known as the author of *Las Generaciones y Semblanzas*, consisting of thirty-four biographies in prose of the most distinguished personages of his day. It was written at various periods of the life of the author, who describes with a master hand and with the greatest minuteness of detail, the character, the personal appearance, and the physical and moral peculiarities of his various contemporaries. He speaks, moreover, with the authority of a man of birth and lineage, of the deeds of arms and the political and private life of the distinguished personages with whom he was so intimately acquainted. His life-like sketches are set off with many original observations and reflections, which stamp the writer as a man of parts and of judgment, in intellectual culture and in vigour of thought, not only, as the phrase runs, in advance of his times, but a man who would have been noteworthy and admirable in any age and in any country, and who, as he himself tells us, was very far from being appreciated at the court of his sovereign.

That John II. should have dabbled in colourless scholarship, and protected submissive scholars, that he should have admired graceful language, most chiefly that he should have patronised the Universities of Castile—these things alone show him less contemptible than his son Henry; but it is not likely that solid merit would have been truly appreciated in his palace, or that vigorous and original thought would have been encouraged by the master who permitted him to occupy his feeble intelligence in the harmless patronage of books and bookmen.

Of the distinguished literary family of the Manriques, it may be noticed in passing that the tragic history of the eldest born, Don Pedro, has supplied the plot of one of the most popular of modern Italian operas. The baritone, *Conte di Luna*, of Verdi's *Trovatore* is no less a person than the great Constable of Castile, and *Manrico* the tenor represents Pedro Manrique, a poet and a soldier who had offended the dictator, and whose unjust execution plunged the court into mourning in 1440. "The good Count of Haro," indeed obtained from his pliable sovereign a grant of all the honours and estate of the murdered man to his son Roderic of Paredes, a poet like his father, and whose younger brother, Gomez Manrique, maintained the literary traditions of his family. This Gomez, in addition to many long-forgotten poems, wrote some verses addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, which were printed between 1482 and 1490. But the son of Roderic, George or Jorge Manrique, excelled all his predecessors

in literary merit, and his poem on the death of his father, known as the *Coplas de Jorge Manrique,* is a work of singular merit, simple in language, natural and unaffected in sentiment, and one of the most excellent poems of its kind that are to be found in the entire range of Castilian literature.[1]

Nor was the reign of John II. less fruitful in works of more solid value and of more enduring interest. The *Cronica real del Rey Don Juan II.* extends from the death of Henry III. in 1407 to the death of John himself in 1454. The Chronicle may certainly not be compared with the *Laberinto* or the *Comedieta*— with the poems of Ruiz or the Coplas of Manrique. But it is by no means the work of scribes and drudges. From 1429 to 1445 the work is that of Juan de Mena, and although that poet was too good a courtier to speak evil of kings and *privados ;*[2] and the Chronicle of the last nine years of the reign of John is by the still more eminent hand of Fernan Perez de Guzman, the author of the *Generaciones y Semblanzas.* The *Cartas* or private letters of Cibdareal, an adopted son of Ayala, written between the years 1425 and 1454, throw an additional amount of light on the history and manners of the reign of John II. of Castile.[3] These letters were printed in the century in which they were written (1499), and again towards the end of the eighteenth century by Don Eugenio Llaguno y Amirola, secretary of the Spanish Royal Academy of History.

The fifteenth century, too, saw the rise of the Special and Personal Chronicle, no less interesting and far more characteristic than the General or Royal Chronicle of the time. Of these private histories, the most noteworthy are the *Passo Honroso,* compiled by one Pero Rodriguez Velena, a detailed account of the celebrated tourney which took place at the bridge of Orbigo, near Leon, in 1434, when Don Suero de Quiñones, the flower

[1] Although the *Coplas* were written in 1476, or perhaps in 1477, two or three years after the accession of Isabella, they belong so entirely to an earlier period that I have included them in this chapter. See Ticknor, i., 436. The joint reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, moreover, did not begin until 1479, and the political action of the sovereigns, and their influence in Castile dates rather from the Cortes of 1480 than from any earlier period.

[2] *Favourites.* (With regard to Juan de Mena's alleged authorship of the Chronicle of John II., see note on page 5.—H.)

[3] He is said to have submitted his writings to the king for his criticism and corrections ; and the king indicated to the chronicler the mode of treatment of contemporary history that would be pleasing to his royal master. We do not often hear of such direct interference with the sources of history. Lafuente, ix., 81.

David Garrick, no doubt, himself wrote the notices of his own appearances for the newspapers ; and in that way satisfied himself as well as the public !

and cream of contemporary chivalry, kept the lists for thirty days, while seventy-six lances were broken by seventy-eight of the knights-errant of the time—that the protagonist might be freed from a fantastic vow to the lady of his knightly affections.[1]

Another of these special histories is the *Seguro de Tordesillas*, by the good Count of Haro, Pedro Hernandez de Velasco, which gives an account of the conference at Tordesillas in 1439, between the king, Alvaro de Luna, and the independent nobles of Castile. For to so low a pitch had sunk the royal power and the public faith in the kingdom, that as a condition precedent to the assembling of the conference, it was necessary to find an honest man, in whom all parties could confide, and who should be invested for the nonce with the authority of king and constable over the noble partisans of the contending factions, whose plighted word was trusted by no man in Spain. The honest man was Pedro Hernandez de Velasco, the good Count of Haro, And the *seguro* or *assurance* that was given by his high character, and the armed force with which he was entrusted, that the visitors would not be kidnapped on their journey, nor the conveners knocked on the head in their palace, suggested the singular title that was adopted for the record of a yet more singular event.[2]

The *Claros varones de Castilla*, by Hernando del Pulgar, is in every way superior to the same writer's Chronicle of the Catholic kings; and although by no means comparable with the *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, of which it is avowedly an imitation, it is not only useful to every student of contemporary history, but many of the lives are models of terse biographical composition.[3]

[1] An abstract of the *Passo Honroso* is given by Lafuente in his history (vol. ix., pp. 98-118), with the names of the sixty-eight knights-errant who took part in it. This curious record of contemporary manners was printed in the sixteenth century, and republished by the *Real Acad. de Hist.* in 1783. See Ticknor, *Hist. Lit.*, i., c. x.; Lafuente, ix., pp. 63-66, and note; Zurita, *Ann. Arag.*, xiv., 22; *Don Quixote*, part i., cap. xlix.

[2] The *Seguro de Tordesillas* was printed for the first time at Milan in 1611; again at Madrid in 1784. The anonymous chronicle of Pero Niño (printed in part by Llaguno, Madrid, 1783), an author who flourished in the reign of Henry III., the Chronicle of Alvaro de Luna, first printed at Milan in 1546, and afterwards at Madrid in 1784, the work of an unknown hand, have both been more than once referred to in the course of this history. See especially vol. i., pp. . (The craze for writing these personal chronicles, at the end of the fifteenth century became as great in Spain as the similar fashion of writing personal memoirs was in France 200 years afterwards. The craze in Spain was absurdly satirised by Charles V.'s famous jester, Francesillo de Zuniga, in his burlesque "Cronica".—H.)

[3] The *Claros Varones* include Henry IV., the Admiral Don Fadrique, the Count of Haro, the Marquis of Santillana, Alvarez de Toledo, Juan Pacheco, Grand Master of Santiago, Count of Vallandrado, Count of Cifuentes, Duke of

Among the remaining prose writers who flourished at the court of John II. of Castile was Juan de Lucena, whose *Vita beata* is an imitation of that popular mediæval work, the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boëthius; Alfonso de la Torre, whose *Vision delectable* is a pedantic allegory on the subject of human learning; and Diego Rodriguez de Almela, whose *Valerio de las historias*, a didactic treatise upon the virtues and vices of succeeding ages, was completed in the year 1472.[1]

Infantazgo, Count of Alvadeliste, Count of Plasencia, Count of Medinaceli, Manrique, Count of Paredes; Garcilaso de la Vega, Juan de Saya Vedra, Rodrigo de Narvaez, the Cardinals Torquemada and Carbajal, Archbishops Carrillo and Fonseca, and the Bishops of Burgos, Soria, Avila and Cordova.

[1] There is a very fair account of the state of literature, both sacred and secular, in Spain at the end of the fifteenth century, in McCrie's *Hist. of the Reformation in Spain* (Blackwood, 1829), chap. ii.

A few words upon the literature of the Spanish Jews will be found in my chapters upon the Jews in Spain, *post*, chapter xliii.

The reader may also consult Amador de los Rios, *Estudios historicos politicos y literarios sobre los Judios de España*, a work which has been well translated into French by M. Magnabal, an author whose version of Ticknor's *Spanish Literature* (Paris, 1864) is also well deserving of study.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

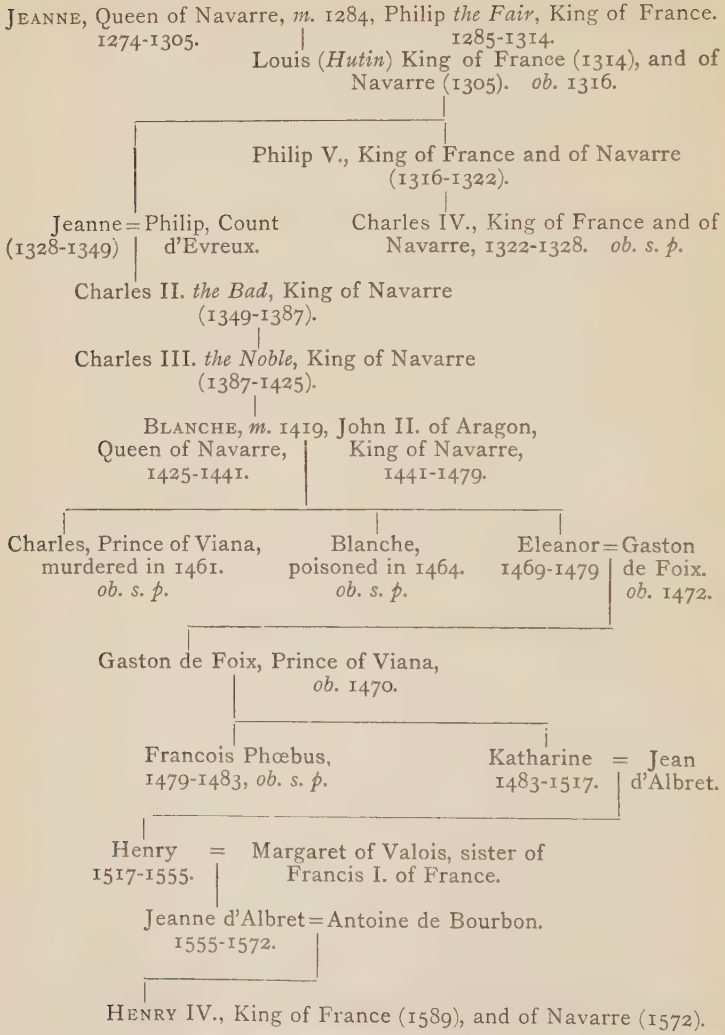
NAVARRE.

(1234-1572.)

With Sancho VI. of Navarre, who died in 1234,[1] the male line of Sancho Iñigez, the founder of the monarchy, had come to an end, and Thibault, Count of Champagne, and nephew of the last of the Sanchos, had been elected king in his room. This Thibault, and his son who succeeded him in 1253 as Thibault II., spent the greater part of their lives in Palestine. The former died at Rome (1253), the latter in Sicily (1270), each one on his return from the Crusades. Henry, the brother of the second Thibault, reigned but four years, and dying in 1274, left Navarre to his daughter Jeanne, who was married (1284) to Philip the Fair, eldest son of Philip the Bold, who succeeded, at his father's death in the following year (1285) as Philip IV. of France. Jeanne died in 1305, when her son, Louis Hutin, immediately became King of Navarre; and succeeded, on his father's death in 1313, to the French throne. His brothers Philip V. and Charles IV. reigned as kings of France and Navarre, until, on the death of Charles in 1328 without male issue, the crown of France passed to his cousin, Philip of Valois, while that of Navarre was inherited by his sister Jeanne, daughter of Lewis Hutin, who was recognised by the States assembled at Pamplona in 1328; and who reigned, in spite of the opposition of Philip of Valois, from 1328 to 1349, as Jeanne II. of Navarre. By her husband Philip, Count of Evreux, she left a numerous family, the eldest of whom succeeded as Charles, universally known as *the Bad*, the friend of Peter the Cruel, the ally of Edward the Black Prince, the boldest and most unscrupulous adventurer of a bold unscrupulous age, and a thorn in the side of his French neighbours during his reign of nearly forty years (1349-1387). His daring assassination of the Constable of France in his castle

[1] *Ante*, vol. i., chap. xx., p. 213, and chap. xxiv., p. 252.

This complicated succession will be made clear by the following Table :—


Jeanne, Queen of Navarre, 1274-1305.
m. 1284, Philip the Fair, King of France. 1285-1314.
Louis (Hutin) King of France (1314), and of Navarre (1305). ob. 1316.
Philip V., King of France and of Navarre (1316-1322).
Charles IV., King of France and of Navarre, 1322-1328. ob. s. p.
Jeanne (1328-1349)
Philip, Count d'Evreux.
Charles II. the Bad, King of Navarre (1349-1387).
Charles III. the Noble, King of Navarre (1387-1425).
Blanche, m. 1419, John II. of Aragon, Queen of Navarre, 1425-1441.
King of Navarre, 1441-1479.
Charles, Prince of Viana, murdered in 1461. ob. s. p.
Blanche, poisoned in 1464. ob. s. p.
Eleanor 1469-1479
Gaston de Foix. ob. 1472.
Gaston de Foix, Prince of Viana, ob. 1470.
Francois Phœbus, 1479-1483, ob. s. p.
Katharine 1483-1517.
Jean d'Albret.
Henry 1517-1555.
Margaret of Valois, sister of Francis I. of France.
Jeanne d'Albret 1555-1572.
Antoine de Bourbon.
Henry IV., King of France (1589), and of Navarre (1572).

By Edict of July, 1607, French Navarre was permanently united to France.

of L'Aigle, near Rouen; his own capture at the castle of the Dauphin; his long imprisonment in the fortress of Arleux in Cambresis; his chivalrous rescue, after the English victory at Poictiers (1356), by a little band of Navarrese nobles; and the various turns of fortune in a life of intrigue and turmoil—all these things would form the theme of an historical romance, which, as far as I know, has never been selected by any of the great writers of modern times.[1]

This Charles the Bad, a worthy compeer of Peter the Cruel, was succeeded by his son Charles III., surnamed the Noble, a title which, by some freak of heredity, he appears to have fairly merited. His reign was long and pacific (1387-1425), and he was succeeded by his daughter Blanche, who had married the second son of Ferdinand of Castile—the chosen king of the people of Aragon—Don John, Duke of Peñafiel and King of Sicily, afterwards John II. of Aragon.

From very early days down to 1404 the kingdom of Navarre consisted of six *merindades* or divisions—each under the government of a *merino*, or judicial and executive chief—Pamplona, Estella, Tudela, Sanguesa and Ultrapuertos or St. Jean Pied de Port. In 1404 a seventh, Olite, was added. In 1512, all but the *merindad* of St. Jean Pied de Port were conquered by Ferdinand the Catholic, and annexed to Spain; and the *merindad* of St. Jean Pied de Port became Basse or French Navarre, until under Henry IV. it was permanently united with France, and the limits of the ancient kingdom were forgotten.[2]

[1] Prosper Mérimée, in his brilliant sketch of Peter the Cruel—*Vie de Don Pèdre I. de Castille*—has naturally much to say of Charles the Bad; but the leading authority for his life is the *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Charles II. de Navarre* (*le mauvais*), par M. Secousse, one vol., 4to (Paris, 1758); and the supplementary *Receuil des Pièces sur les troubles excités en France par Charles II.* (*le mauvais*), published *before* the principal work (Paris, 1755), one vol., 4to.

[2] As far as can now be ascertained, Navarre from the twelfth to the sixteenth century was bounded on the west by the Pays de Labour, on the south by Spanish territory, on the east by the Pays de Soule, which was at one time tributary to Navarre, and on the north by Béarn. See La Grèze, i., 9, *Histoire de Navarre*, 1881, two vols. The northernmost town was La Bastide Clairence, near Bayonne. Mauléon, the capital of the dependent viscounty of la Soule, was also counted as a Navarrese town. La Grèze, tom. i., p. 16.

The accompanying map is the result of some research, and may be useful to reader and student. See also Fr. Michel, *Le Pays Basque* (Paris, 1857); A. de Belsance, *Hist. des Basques* (Bayonne, 1847); Joseph de Moret, *Investigaciones Historicas;* Moret and Aleson, *Anales del Reyno de Navarra*, seven vols., fo. 1766; and *Diccionario de los Fueros del Reino de Navarra, y de las leyes vigentes*, by José Yanguas y Miranda (San Sebastian, 1828), p. 433; and the *Adiciones*, id., id., 1829, p. 116.

See also Appendix I., "The Basques".

To construct or reconstruct the map of the ancient kingdom of Navarre is necessary for any one who would understand the history of the country. And yet so rapidly do the landmarks even of European kingdoms become obliterated, that it is to-day a task of no inconsiderable difficulty to ascertain the limits and the area of the kingdom, even as it existed in the comparatively recent time of John of Aragon. It is pretty clear, however, that the southern or Spanish boundaries were those of the modern province of Pamplona, while the limits of the kingdom north of the Pyrenees are probably to be found in those of the modern *Arrondissement* of Mauléon. The district to the west of Basse Navarre—or that part of the kingdom north of the Pyrenees—is now known as the *pays de Labour*, a deceptive and misleading spelling of the old *Labourd* or *Labord*, probably the *border* district on the coast; for strange to say, the kingdom of Navarre existed and flourished, as it did for many hundred years, not only without a port, but without a yard of territory on the neighbouring seaboard. The district to the east, or *la Soule*, was for a long time dependent upon, if not actually part of Navarre, under the government of a semi-independent viscount, who resided at the town of Mauléon.

The capital of the entire kingdom was always Pamplona. But after the conquest of the southern Provinces by Spain, in 1512, St. Jean Pied de Port, at the foot of the pass commanding the principal road across the Pyrenees by Roncesvalles, became the capital of what was left of Navarre. The inhabitants of the mountains to the north as well as to the south were undoubtedly Basques; though Navarre was very far from including within its limits the whole of the Basque population, which occupied the provinces of Guipuzcoa, Alava, Biscay, and a great part of the Asturias, which were never included in the dominions of the kings at Pamplona.

From the recognition of Queen Jeanne in 1328 to the death of Queen Blanche in 1441, Navarre was politically independent. Yet during the greater part of the dictatorship of Alvaro de Luna, the affairs of the country were constantly involved with those of Castile; while throughout the entire public life of John II. of Aragon, the little kingdom was the chosen centre of intrigue on the part of the various rulers of France, of Castile, of Aragon and of Naples. Although in the first instance it was the folly of the queen-mother of Navarre, and the ambitious policy of the Constable of Castile, that brought trouble to the court of Pamplona, it is John of Aragon, whether as prince or

viceroy, or as king, that is the protagonist in the doleful drama that was played in Spain during the latter half of the fifteenth century. That restless sovereign, who had been recalled from Sicily on his father's death in 1416, by the jealousy of his elder brother Alfonso V., had consoled himself for the loss of a Neapolitan wife by a politic marriage with the heiress of Navarre; and pending his acquisition of the material advantages of the alliance, he devoted himself to the prosecution of endless intrigues in Castile. Nor did the death of his father-in-law at Pamplona withdraw him at once from such congenial employment, nor induce him to proceed to Navarre and take his place at the side of his wife's throne. For full three years Queen Blanche administered the kingdom that she had inherited from her father, without help or hindrance from her husband. At length, in 1428, in consequence of the final triumph of Alvaro de Luna, John was compelled to withdraw from Castile; and he took advantage of the unwonted repose to cause himself and his wife to be solemnly crowned King and Queen of Navarre. Their first born son, Charles, was on the same occasion solemnly recognised as the successor of his mother in her ancestral kingdom; and in emulation of the Princes of Wales, of Asturias, and of Gerona, their heir to the crown of Navarre was invested with the hereditary title of Prince of Viana.

Navarre, however, had no attractions for the restless and ambitious John. Castile was closed to him by the unbroken power of Alvaro de Luna. But Italy was an ever-fruitful field of strife and sedition; and to Italy accordingly he directed his steps, to assist his elder brother, Alfonso, in his struggle for the crown of Naples. Queen Blanche administered the affairs of her kingdom wisely and well during the continued absence of her husband, until her death in 1441, when her son Charles succeeded, as of right, to the crown, and, as of necessity, to the government of Navarre. But in deference to his mother's last wishes, he forbore to assume the title of king, until he should have obtained the formal consent of his absent father; and he styled himself in the meanwhile, Prince of Viana, Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom of Navarre.

It was somewhat doubtful, under the terms of the marriage treaty, if John the widower, or Charles the eldest son, was to reign, in case of the death of Blanche before her husband. But John, once more occupied with his intrigues in Castile, took no thought for his son nor for the affairs of Navarre. His party had obtained a momentary triumph over the Constable Alvaro de

Luna, and in the absence of the favourite, who had been driven from the court, Don Fadrique Henriquez, Admiral of Castile, had become the most powerful man in the kingdom. A marriage between John and Joanna, the admiral's only daughter, was contrived in the interests of the faction; a marriage disastrous to the children of Blanche, and to the peace of Navarre. Nor did the alliance, fraught as it was with the most momentous consequences to Spain, bring honour or profit to John of Aragon. Alvaro de Luna was almost immediately afterwards restored to power. The confederation was defeated at Olmedo; Don Henry was slain in battle; Don John, wounded, and forced to fly the country, found shelter with his new wife in his son's ancestral kingdom of Navarre.

Doña Juana Henriquez was clever, beautiful and ambitious, but she was unscrupulous, arrogant and domineering. Like a true *parvenu* she was more imperious than any born princess. And she threw herself at once into the intrigues and dissensions, the family strife and civil warfare that went by the name of politics in mediæval Spain. The condition of Castile under John II. and Alvaro de Luna was sufficiently deplorable. Aragon, under a judicious regent, was more tranquil; but Navarre was distracted by the dissensions of two powerful parties, who, like the more celebrated Montagues and Capulets, fought from the mere habit of fighting, and disturbed the Commonwealth with their endless and meaningless strife. The leader of one faction was the Marshal of the kingdom, Don Pedro, Lord of *Agramont;* of the other, the Constable and Grand Prior, Don John of *Beaumont.*[1] John of Aragon, return-

[1] The great officers of State and public functionaries of NAVARRE were—1, THE KING; 2, the *Viceroy* or governor of the kingdom; 3, *Alferez* or grand standard-bearer, from the Arabic, al Feriz = a knight; 4, *Constable* of the kingdom; 5, *Marshal* of the kingdom; 6, *Mesnadero*, "fellow commoner" of the king; 7, *Sayon*, collector-general; 8, *Procureur* du roi; 9, *Portero*, collector of revenue; 10, *Sergeant-at-arms*, with custody of the mace; 11, *Almirante*, admiral, not of fleet, as Navarre had no seaport; but etymologically. Admiral (Middle Eng., amiral, and O. Fr., amiral) has nothing to do with the sea. It is the Arabic *Amir*, with a Latin termination *alis;* see Dozy and Engelmann, *Glossaire*, sub-tit. *Almirante.* 12, *Sheriff;* 13, *Recibidor*, local receiver of taxes; 14, *Merino*, administrator and chief justice of each one of the five provinces or merindades; 15, *Alcalde*, local judge, Arabic *Cádi;* 16, *Alcaide*, governor of fortress or fortified town, Arabic, *Caid;* 17, *Consul*, municipal judge and magistrate; 18, *Jurados*, justices of the peace; 19, *Prebost*, provost?; 20, *Alguazil*, policeman, Arab *al Wazir;* 21, *Bayle*, bailiff; 22, *Zalmenida?* M. la Grèze queries this word; but I have no doubt that it is *Zalmedina;* Arab, Sahib 'l Medina, civil governor of a town; 23, *Bocero*, advocate—the mouth-man, who was forbidden to be prolix or long in his speeches; 24, *Notaries*, who had to pass an examination; 25, *Ushers;* 26, *Doctors*, whose fees were fixed by law; 27, *Apothecaries.*

See La Grèze, *Hist. de Navarre* (1881, vol. ii.), where will also be found a

ing with his new wife, could find nothing better to do than to deprive the young King Charles of his rightful heritage. All Navarre was roused to indignation. Yet inasmuch as the *Beaumonts* had first ranged themselves on the side of Charles of Viana, the *Agramonts* could do no otherwise than espouse the cause of John of Aragon. And Navarre, long vexed by petty factions, became a prey to civil war.

John II. of Castile, with his son Henry, Prince of Asturias,[1] glad of the opportunity of vexing their ever-troublesome neighbours, came to the assistance of Charles, while the bold Juana Henriquez hurried to Estella, which she fortified and defended against all the attacks of the allies. On the journey from Castile to Navarre she halted for a few days at the little town of Sos, in Aragon, where she gave birth (10th March, 1452) to a son, who, begotten amid confusion and turmoil, born amid discord and disgrace and the strife of three divided provinces, lived to bring domestic peace and national glory to United Spain, as Ferdinand, the husband of Isabella.

Meanwhile, the Castilian invasion brought no relief to Charles of Navarre, and no honour to his allies. John of Aragon pressed forward towards Pamplona, and at Aibar, not far from the capital, the army of the father was brought face to face with the army of the son. The position was so common in the Peninsula that it hardly calls for special notice. Charles, ever reasonable and pacific, desired to treat. But the impetuosity of his soldiers would brook no delay. The armies engaged in battle; the father was successful; and the son was sent into captivity in the castle of Monroy.[2] Released at length from his imprisonment, by the interference of the Cortes, he failed to find, or even to promote, the peace which he so sincerely desired. The irrepressible strife and jealousy of the factions rendered his presence in Navarre a continuous source of trouble, and after his unruly supporters had suffered another defeat at Estella, he prudently withdrew from the country, and sought refuge at the court of his uncle, Alfonso of Aragon, at Naples (1456).[3]

most admirable account of the Fueros and Laws of Navarre: civil, feudal, ecclesiastical, military; as well as of the nature and functions of royalty and of all the great officers of state.

[1] Although Henry had lately repudiated his wife Blanche of Navarre, the sister of Charles of Viana, on the ground of enchantment, producing impotence. A copy of the sentence of divorce is printed in vol. xl. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, p. 444 *et seq.*, where the delicate question is treated in the fullest detail.

[2] See *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., tom. xl., pp. 484 and 499.

[3] Charles, on his release from captivity, travelled from Navarre to Naples by way of Paris, where he was hospitably received and warmly welcomed by Charles

Alfonso received him with the utmost kindness, and used all his endeavours at once to promote a reconciliation between the young prince and his father, and to obtain the recognition of his undoubted rights to the crown of Navarre. But all the diplomacy of the *magnanimous* King of Naples was unequal to abate the envy of John and his new wife; and Alfonso was compelled to resort to more vigorous action. A threat to withdraw the government or lieutenancy of the kingdom of Aragon from his brother, and to assist his nephew, if need be, by force of arms, had already determined John to recognise his son as King of Navarre, when the death of Alfonso in 1458 left the young prince at the mercy of his unscrupulous father.

John, already King of Sicily and tyrant of Navarre, inherited all his brother's dominions in Aragon, with such rights as he possessed over Corsica and Sardinia. Naples was left to Ferdinand, the legitimised son of his father Alfonso. There was no longer a king of the *Two Sicilies*.

A powerful party in Italy, unwilling to accept the rule of the bastard, offered the throne of Naples to the Prince of Viana. The virtues and the misfortunes of Charles had endeared him to many friends at the Italian court; and it would have been but natural in a son of John of Aragon to compensate himself for his loss of Navarre by a bold struggle for Naples. But Charles, apparently, had more of his mother than of his father in his composition; and he gave renewed proofs of his discretion, of his modesty, and of his gratitude, by firmly declining to disturb the succession that had been ordained by his benefactor. With no possessions of his own, and unwilling to vex his neighbours by claims upon those of his cousin, he prudently retired into a modest exile in Sicily. A gentle and accomplished prince, a student, a poet, a musician, and a troubadour, he preferred the solace of verse-making to the vexations of politics, and he devoted his enforced leisure to the translation of the Ethics of Aristotle and the composition of a history of Navarre.[1] The Sicilians gave a practical proof of their appreciation of his character and his conduct by the grant of an annual pension or allowance of 25,000 florins. And the prince was well-content to live a retired and studious life in the Benedictine Monastery of San Placido, near Messina. Yet

VII., the King of France, and his more celebrated son, who soon after succeeded him as Louis XI.; and at Rome he found the Spanish Pope Calixtus III., who treated him with marked distinction.

[1] Quintana, *Vida de Españoles celebres*.

even there the jealousy of his father could not suffer him to live in peace. Compelled by royal orders to quit Sicily, and betake himself to Majorca, Charles, after the despatch of a most humble and submissive letter to his father, passed over to Barcelona; and having been received by the king and queen with some show of affection, he was almost immediately afterwards thrown into prison at Lerida (2nd December, 1460). The Cortes of Catalonia was at the time actually sitting at Lerida, and the estates of Aragon at Fraga; and both these august assemblies immediately sent their protest against the treacherous and arbitrary action of the king.[1] The Catalans, indeed, like rich and generous traders as they were, supplemented their protest with an offer of 100,000 florins for the prince's liberty. The king refused the bribe, and disregarded the protests. Charles remained in confinement.[2]

But the Catalans were not accustomed to overlook the misconduct of their princes, or their disregard of the protests of their Parliament; and the transfer of Charles to a more rigorous imprisonment in the inaccessible fortress of Morella in the kingdom of Valencia, led to a popular outbreak and the armed intervention of the Commons of the realm. John was driven out of Lerida, and afterwards out of Fraga; and was compelled not only to release his son, but to accept terms of pacification from the bold citizens of Barcelona, which he never intended to fulfil, and which, therefore, he was at no pains to modify. The king, indeed, acknowledged his eldest son, according to the treaty of June, 1461, to be the heir to his crown and possessions; and he appointed him, as had been stipulated, to the office of Lieutenant-General of Catalonia. But within three months he removed him from his offices and his expectations by the simple and familiar expedient of poison (23rd September, 1461).[3]

[1] The justiciary, for once, does not appear to have done his duty. *Vide ante*, chap. xxiv. (I may remark that the Justiciary of Aragon had no *locus standi*, as Lerida is in the principality of Catalonia and not in the kingdom of Aragon.—H.)

[2] Some interesting letters and papers connected with Navarre, Charles of Viana, Gaston de Foix, and John of Aragon, will be found in volume xl., of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 434-573, and a copy of the *Confederacion de amistad* between Henry of Castile and John of Navarre, 20th May, 1457, in vol. xli. of the same publication, p. 23 *et seq.*

[3] *De pura desesperacion y angustia de espiritu y del turbacion del animo . . . murió*, says Zurita, iii., 97. The cause was no doubt sufficient; the more so as he had at the moment been tricked in the matter of a treaty, or rather two treaties—a true and a false—between his father, Louis XI., and Henry IV. of Castile, with

The step-brother of this gentle victim—the child who had been born to Juana Henriquez amid the strife of battle at Sos, was now nearly ten years of age. And this young Prince Ferdinand, promoted by the zeal of his parents to the position of an elder son, was formally recognised by the States of Aragon at Calatayud, within a fortnight after the death of Charles of Viana; and was soon afterwards permitted to take the accustomed oaths to maintain the laws and privileges of Catalonia in the more important city of Barcelona.

The next step in his career of fortune was the removal of his sister, Blanche of Navarre. And in this he was served not only by his loving father, but by his father's uncertain ally, Louis XI.; for by one of the articles of a treaty of peace and amity between France and Aragon, which was signed at Olite in April, 1462, and confirmed at Salvatierra on the 3rd of May following, it was provided that the Princess Blanche was to be handed over by her father to the tender mercies of her youngest sister Eleanor, and her brother-in-law, Gaston de Foix. Banishment in such a case was but a diplomatic preliminary to execution. From the convent of Roncesvalles, on her way from her beloved Navarre to the place appointed for her murder, the unhappy queen wrote a letter to Henry IV. of Castile, who had once been her husband, ceding to him all her rights over Navarre, and appealing to him in the most touching language to interfere at least for the protection of her life.[1] But the wretched Henry, worthless in every walk of life, remained unmoved, or, as usual, impotent. And Blanche, after a brief captivity, was poisoned at the castle of Orthez, as

regard to Navarre. See also *Documentos Inéditos*, etc., tom. xl. and xli. It must be remembered that in much that concerns Charles of Viana, and in well-nigh everything that concerns his relations with his father, all, or almost all our sources of information were written by those who sought to please his younger brother Ferdinand. The character of John II. of Aragon is not likely to have been treated with undue harshness by the courtly chroniclers of the time of Ferdinand and Isabella. *Estos cronistas*, says Quintana, *eran pagados por el Rey Fernando el Catolico que fue él que sacó partido de la ruina de Carlos.*

[1] Dated St. Jean Pied de Port, 30th April, 1462. A copy of this donation or cession, printed for the first time in 1862, may be found in the *Documentos Inéditos*, vol. xli., p. 27, *et seq.* (It should be explained that Blanche had sided with her brother Charles, Prince of Viana, in his struggle with their father, and Charles had designated her as his successor to the crown of Navarre. The whole subject of the quarrel between the father and son is extremely obscure. John's recognition of Eleanor in Navarre seems to show that he had no desire to perpetuate his hold upon his late wife's kingdom, whilst, on the other hand, the demeanour of the Prince of Viana all through, proved that he was not moved by personal ambition. —H.)

had been arranged between her father, her sister, and Louis XI. of France.

The death of Blanche brought no peace to Navarre, nor even to John of Aragon. For Gaston de Foix, encouraged by his friend Louis XI., immediately endeavoured to possess himself of his wife's inheritance. And it was only after some time and much trouble that he was driven from the kingdom by the forces of the King of Aragon.[1] On the death of John, in 1479, Eleanor indeed inherited the crown, but she lived but three weeks to enjoy her honours; her son Gaston and her husband Gaston were both already dead, and the crown thus passed to her grandson, François Phébus, who reigned for only two months. His sister Catherine, who succeeded him, inherited little but trouble and dissension, and she was married soon after her accession to Jean d'Albret, a French seigneur whose estates bordered on those of Navarre. Their grand-daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, married Antoine de Bourbon, and her son, Henry IV., finally united what was left of Navarre to the crown of France.[2]

By the Treaty of Olite it had been formally stipulated that the sovereigns of Aragon, whose treatment of the Prince of Viana had intensified the hostility of the Catalans, should receive substantial assistance from Louis XI. of France, in exchange for a still more substantial consideration, in their struggle with their subjects in arms. Charles was dead, but the insurrection continued. The insurgents grew more and more bold, and Queen Joanna was besieged by the Catalans in Gerona. Finding herself, in spite of prodigies of valour, unable to make head against the rebels, she had called upon the French king for immediate assistance. That crafty monarch sent 700 lances, but not until the coveted border provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne had been handed over to him as security for the repayment to him of the expenses of his intervention. The Count of Armagnac, the Duke of Nemours, and Gaston de Foix accompanied the French contingent. The royal garrison at Gerona was promptly relieved. The insurgents were defeated and dispersed.

Henry the Impotent had accepted the title of Count of

[1] The troops were under the command of King John's illegitimate son, the Archbishop of Saragossa (1469). At a conference at Olite in 1471 it was arranged that John should continue to be titular king, while his daughter and son-in-law administered the kingdom as his viceroys. Gaston de Foix died in 1472.

[2] Ferdinand of Aragon in 1512 forcibly possessed himself of all Navarre south of the Pyrenees, which he wrested from Catherine and her husband Jean d'Albret, and annexed it to Spain.

Barcelona in August, 1462,[1] and suffered the rebel Catalans to believe that he would espouse their cause against their own sovereign. His support was as worthless as his assurances, and within a few months (Jan., 1463) he had himself entered into an equally worthless engagement with John of Aragon at the suggestion of Louis XI. of France, after the celebrated conference between the rival monarchs on the banks of the Bidassoa.

But the Catalans continued in revolt; and they persuaded Dom Pedro, Constable of Portugal, and nephew of the turbulent Count of Urgel, to assume the title of King of Aragon. This new leader was at least more active in his generalship than Henry IV. of Castile; but after two years of uncertain strife, he was poisoned at Barcelona; and John of Aragon was relieved of another enemy, in the accustomed manner, in June, 1466.[2]

But the Catalans were not long in finding another chief. René of Anjou, "the titular sovereign of half a dozen empires in which he did not possess a rood of land," accepted the uncertain honour, and deputed his son John, Duke of Calabria and Lorraine, to take possession of the proferred crown; and Louis XI., who had sent an army into Spain to assist John against the Catalans, encouraged Lorraine to assist the Catalans to dethrone John; and Lorraine marched into Aragon, by way of Roussillon, at the head of an army of 8000 men.

Ferdinand of Aragon was now of an age to assist his father in the field; and the increasing blindness with which the king was affected rendered his son's presence the more acceptable at his side. Next to the queen, however, who was the boldest and not the least skilful military commander in the kingdom, was reckoned the Archbishop of Saragossa, a bastard son of the king, and already a seasoned soldier. But neither king nor prince, neither queen nor prelate, could break the haughty spirit of the Catalans; nor could they even check the progress of the Duke of Lorraine; and at length the fiery Joanna succumbed to her many fatigues, and died at Saragossa in February, 1468.

Deprived thus of his most constant and most indefatigable friend and companion, at strife alike with his subjects and his neighbours, already quite blind, and with nothing but the recollection of an ill spent life to cheer him, at over seventy years

[1] Zurita, lib. xvii., c. xxxviii. Sismondi, *Hist. de France*, xiv., 108-114.

[2] "*Tuvose por muy cierto*," says Zurita, *An. Ar.*, lib. xviii., c. vii., "*que le fueron dadas yerbas.*" The euphemism of the very idiomatic Spanish is delightful.

of age, John gave way to none of those feelings of despondency that would have broken down a weaker nature; and in spite of his great age, he sought relief at the hands of an oculist from the malady that darkened his life. The Christian Spaniards had not yet learned the lessons of Cordova. Relics had proved powerless to remove the cataract. But a Hebrew physician was found to perform the operation of couching. The king recovered his sight.[1] To increase his satisfaction he was relieved, within the same year, from the most powerful and the most active of his remaining foes. John of Lorraine fell a victim to a well-timed malady, and died at Barcelona in December, 1469. It was naturally suggested that his death was due to the usual cause. But there is, at least, no evidence to convict John of employing his accustomed methods of relief.

The death of Lorraine did not lead to the immediate surrender of Barcelona, and it was not until full three years afterwards that the Catalans submitted themselves to the authority of their lawful prince (December, 1472). Nor were these the only triumphs of John of Aragon, for in the ever memorable year 1469, and some months before the death of Lorraine, his policy had been crowned by a stroke of fortune more fateful to his kingdom and to his house than the death of any duke or prince, more serious than the defection of any town or province, more abiding in its consequences than any event in the history of his country, since Sancho the Great had assigned to his son Ramiro the little kingdom on the banks of the river Aragon. For the happy event was nothing less than the peaceful acquisition of Castile.

[1] Alfonso de Palencia, *Cron.*, ii., c. lxxxviii. Luc. Marineo, *Cosas Memor.*, f. 141.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

UNION.

(1454—1479).

I.—*Henry the Impotent.*

Henry IV. of Castile, the last representative of the House of Trastamara, impotent, worthless and unfortunate in every relation of life, enjoyed at the time of his accession to the crown an unusual share of popularity.[1] His rebellion against his feeble father was remembered with no serious disapproval by any one in mediæval Spain. His liberality and affability contrasted favourably with the niggardly retirement of the late king. No favourite stood between the monarch and his people. The proclamation of a crusade against the Moors and a new war with Granada appealed at once to the patriotism, the cupidity, and the religious feelings of his subjects. But the popularity of Henry was but of brief duration. The war with Granada was conducted without vigour, and concluded without advantage. The coinage was debased; the Cortes was degraded; crime went unpunished throughout the country. A dispute with Aragon and Navarre was referred to the arbitration of Louis XI. of France; and his diplomatic award brought neither advantage nor honour to Castile, while the exchange of international courtesies on the banks of the Bidassoa served but to accentuate the international hostility between the French and the Spaniards.[2] The Court of Castile was distinguished chiefly by its scandalous immorality.[3] Beltran de la Cueva took the place of Alvaro de

[1] Some interesting letters of Henry, when Prince of Asturias (1444-1453), may be found printed in the *Documentos Inéditos*, etc., vol. xl., pp. 434-451.

[2] The conference actually took place at Bayonne; the meeting at St. Jean de Luz was held in May, 1463, and was but a courtly incident in the negotiations. Comines, *Mem.*, iii., 8; Zurita, *An.*, xvii., 50.

[3] Quintana, *Grandezas de Madrid*, iii., chap. lxxii., p. 399.

Luna; and his favour was shared with a still less admirable favourite at the king's court—Don Juan Pacheco—the unworthy Marquis of Villena.

Henry had been divorced from his first wife, Blanche of Aragon, for reasons sufficiently humiliating;[1] and his new consort, Joan of Portugal, was the almost acknowledged mistress of the magnificent Beltran, who ruled both king and queen and advanced himself by successive steps to the dignities of Count of Ledesma and Grand Master of Santiago.

At a tourney near Madrid in 1461, not long after the king's second marriage, Beltran de la Cueva, already recognised as the favourite of the queen, held the lists against all-comers in defence of the pre-eminent claims to beauty of his mistress. The knight was both brave and successful; and the king was so much pleased with his courage and his skill, that he founded a monastery on the spot—in honour at once of Saint Jerome and of Beltran—San Geronimo *del Paso,* or of the Passage of Arms.

In March, 1462, the queen had been delivered of a daughter, who was christened Juana, but who is better known by her sobriquet of *La Beltraneja;* and Henry's demand that she should be acknowledged as his legitimate daughter and heiress to the Crown of Castile, led to a confederacy of the hostile nobles, who assembled at Burgos, and, entering a solemn protest against the proposed succession, demanded that the king's younger brother, Alfonso, should be recognised as heir to the crown.

After much hesitation and negotiation, Henry agreed that Alfonso should be acknowledged as his successor, provided he would espouse Juana his lawful niece. And he proposed that a commission of five—two nobles, two knights and one ecclesiastic, should investigate and report upon the abuses in the administration of Castile (November, 1464). Beltran, by way of facilitating the negotiations, resigned the Grand Mastership of Santiago, to the Infante Alfonso, and received, as an equivalent, the Dukedom of Albuquerque and a new grant of land and cities. But the day of commissions and commissioners had not yet come. Henry disregarded the report of the chosen five, and ridiculed their recommendations; and the rebellion entered upon a new

[1] Henry, divorced from his first wife on the ground of impotence, carried on a shameless intrigue with the Lady Guiomar, one of the maids of honour of Queen Joan; and the Archbishop of Seville openly espoused the cause of the paramour, who maintained a magnificence of state rivalling that of the queen herself. The Marquis of Villena took the opposite side in domestic politics.

phase.[1] For the next act of the confederates was one unexampled even in the rich store of precedents in such cases that are to be found in the history of Spain.

On rising ground in the open country near the celebrated city of Avila, was erected a lofty stage, such as half a century before had been raised at Caspe, for the proclamation of King Ferdinand of Aragon. On a throne of state was seated an *effigy* of the Castilian king, clad in a rich suit of mourning, with a crown on its head, a sword at its side, and a sceptre in its lifeless hand. An immense concourse of knights, nobles and spectators of every degree was gathered round this dais of shame. A herald advanced, read a long act of accusation, detailing the king's misdeeds, both of omission and of commission, and pronounced him solemnly deposed. His great officers then advanced. The Archbishop of Toledo tore the crown from the head of the image. The Count of Benavente flung the sceptre down among the crowd. And the counterfeit presentment of Castilian royalty, more impotent than the king himself, despoiled of all the magnificence of kingly honour, was rolled in the dust, and torn to pieces by the populace. The Infante Alfonso who was present, not in effigy, but in flesh and blood, was then summoned to take his seat on the vacant throne, and was greeted with joyful acclamation as King of Castile (5th June, 1465).

The news of this strange ceremony was carried far and wide; and every man in Spain was called upon to choose between Henry and Alfonso as lawful sovereigns of Castile. The king himself, as usual, took refuge in negotiation; and negotiation at the moment was easy. The archbishop was disappointed at his failure in the field. Pacheco was tired of his absence from the palace. A marriage was arranged between the court and the camp which should restore peace to Castile.

The Princess Isabella, the youngest sister of Henry and Alfonso, was at this time nearly sixteen years of age.[2] In years gone by her hand had been sought by the gentle and unfortunate

[1] The *Peticiones originales* presented by the *arzobispos, obispos, cavalleros, y grandes* of the kingdom to Henry IV., dated Cigales, 5th December, 1464, are preserved among the family papers of the House of Villena. They are printed in vol. xiv. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., pp. 369-409.

[2] Isabella was brought up at Arevalo, a town which was settled on her mother, Queen Isabella, widow of John II. The queen-mother is very rarely referred to in histories of the Catholic kings; but she lived until 1496; on the 15th of August of which year she died at Arevalo, while her daughter was at Laredo seeing her daughter Joanna off to Flanders.

Charles of Viana;[1] and on his death she had been affianced or offered by her brother Henry to Alfonso V. of Portugal, the elder brother of the shameless Queen of Castile. This union the young princess had had sufficient spirit to refuse, declaring that her hand could not be disposed of without the consent of the Cortes of Castile; and the negotiations had been accordingly broken off. But it was now proposed (1466) that Isabella should marry Don Pedro Giron, Grand Master of Calatrava, a brother of the court favourite, Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, and nephew of the Archbishop of Toledo. The grand master was a fierce and turbulent leader of faction; a man whose character was stained with every private vice, a lover old enough to be her father, who had paid insolent court to her own mother, and who was, moreover, a religious knight solemnly devoted to a life of perpetual celibacy. Don Pedro, moreover, was a petty lord, not even of royal ancestry, a recreant knight, whose abandonment of his Order, and whose insolent disregard of his lady's wishes, were alike unworthy of a Castilian gentleman. The rights of the weak were not much regarded in the fifteenth century. The pretensions of the grand master were supported by the leaguers, and they were accepted by Henry as the price of union and peace.

Isabella once more asserted her independence; and shutting herself up in her own apartments, announced her intention of resisting to the utmost the indignity that it was sought to put upon her. But her protests were entirely disregarded. A Bull dispensing the grand master from his vows of celibacy was easily obtained from Rome.[2] Henry was ever lavish. Rome was ever placable. The wedding-feast was prepared. The bridegroom was summoned to court. But within a few days of the time when the master would have arrived to claim Isabella as his wife, he sickened and died at a little village near Ciudad Real, not forty leagues from Madrid, on his way to the marriage ceremony. The pious Isabella, thus suddenly relieved from im-

[1] The first proposal that was ever made for her hand, strange to say, was by John II. of Aragon, for his *youngest* son, Ferdinand. But the suggestion was a part of a general scheme of marriages and alliance between Aragon and Castile, and the negotiation came to nothing.

[2] That is, a Bull dispensing the grand master from his vows of perpetual chastity. He was, as a matter of fact, one of the most dissipated men of his licentious age. The vows of the knights of Calatrava were of a more strictly religious character than those of the other two Orders; and while Santiago and Alcantara were bound only to conjugal chastity, the more monastic knights of Calatrava were devoted to perpetual celibacy. See *ante*, chap. xxiii.

pending danger, saw not unnaturally, in her sudden deliverance, the direct interposition of heaven. And it is at once characteristic of the age, and honourable to the princess, that all the chroniclers should think it necessary to inform us that Don Pedro's death was probably due to natural causes, and that he was certainly not poisoned by Isabella.

On this tragic termination of the projects of marriage, the civil war at once broke out anew. The deposition of Avila had been an act of pseudo-constitutional rebellion more extravagant than the most violent proceedings of the *Union* of Aragon, where the title of the sovereign was ever respected even when his authority was set at naught. The leaguers were many and powerful. But the king was not without friends and lances, Once more at Olmedo, in August, 1467, the opposing forces met. on the very spot where, just twenty-two years before, John, the father of Henry, had in like manner been confronted by his rebellious subjects, under the leadership of Henry himself.

Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of all Spain, clad in complete mail, his scarlet mantle emblazoned with a white cross, led the army of the rebels. Beltran de la Cueva, no less splendidly apparelled, commanded the forces of the king. The battle raged throughout a long summer's day. The archbishop performed prodigies of valour. Beltran de la Cueva sought death in a hundred single combats. But the victory remained uncertain; and although the king's troops kept possession of the field of battle, the enemy retired unbroken and undismayed at the close of the day. Nor did either party choose to renew the conflict. The death of Alfonso in the following year[1] (5th July, 1468), whether by poison or by natural causes, at length put an end to the confusion; and his sister Isabella became, as she remained to the day of her death, the most important personage in Spain.

Alfonso had been a pretender to his half-brother's throne. There was nothing new in the position. He had died, as pretenders had often died before him, under the usual suspicion of poison. The attitude of his sister was a matter of more pressing interest. Isabella was wise and discreet far beyond her years; the only remaining hope of the rebel aristocracy, and of the clerical party throughout Spain. Ambitious as she was, she prudently rejected the proposals that were made to her by the turbulent Archbishop of Toledo that she should allow herself to

[1] At Cardeñosa, near Avila. He was only fifteen years of age, and is said to have been removed in the usual fashion, by the administration of a poisoned trout.

be immediately proclaimed Queen of Castile. Yet she permitted herself to be recognised, at least, as her brother's successor to the crown, to the exclusion of her niece Joanna, the presumably lawful heiress to the crown.

To maintain this prospective usurpation,[1] the scandalous story of the paternity of the Princess Joanna was sedulously spread abroad, and the nickname of *La Beltraneja* was systematically attached to her. Isabella, secure of the support of the clerical party, withdrew to a monastery at Avila, where she received deputations from every part of the country, urging her to assume the title not of heiress, but of Queen of Castile.

But the girl of eighteen was more sagacious than the mature intriguers who surrounded her. To attempt to dethrone her own brother would have been rebellion of the most naked and shameless character; and it would in all probability have failed. Henry had still a strong party in the kingdom. A certain amount of divinity hedged about a king even in mediæval Spain; and a civil war, headed by his younger sister and promoted by his bishops and clergy, would probably have been unpopular, and would almost certainly have been unsuccessful. Isabella saw clearly that the hour for action had not yet arrived; and Isabella bided her time.

Yet negotiations between the palace and the monastery were actively pursued. Isabella was the hope—if she would not permit herself to be called the leader—of the league.[2] Her position was more powerful as it was. And it was at length arranged that she should be received by her unhappy brother in solemn conference, and that, as the price of a temporary concord, her rights should be formally recognised as superior to those of the king's daughter.

The interview took place at Toros de Guisando, in New Castile, on the 9th of September, 1468. Brother and sister met

[1] See on this point a secret memorandum prepared by the Privy Council of Castile on the occasion of a projected marriage between Charles V. and a princess of Portugal, January, 1522, printed in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., pp. 396, 397. It is there maintained that even if Joanna had been the daughter of Henry IV. she would not have been his *legitimate* child. The reasons are sufficiently curious. A Papal Bull, of course, plays an important part in the situation.

[2] "The history of this usurpation is one of the most disgraceful on record, the different parties entering as it were into a competition as to which would outdo the other in perjury, in gross calumny and in treachery. In this competition Isabella, having entered into a formal compact with the clerical faction, under Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, was the winner." *Cal. State Papers* (Spain), pp. 27, 28; and *Supplement to* vols. i., ii. (1868), Introduction.

with every mark of affection. The claims of the king's daughter were ignored; and the oath of allegiance was administered to the attendant nobles, who did homage to Isabella, and formally recognised her as the lawful heir to the throne of Castile. As such, her hand was promptly sought by many new aspirants. Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the brother of Edward IV. of England, was early in the field. But his tender proposals were disregarded. The Duke of Guienne, a brother of Louis XI. and heir presumptive to the crown of France, was no more fortunate in his pretensions.

The suitor who alone found favour in the eyes of Isabella, was her cousin and neighbour, the brave and handsome young Ferdinand of Aragon. But her wishes were influenced quite as much by policy as by any personal predilection; for the alliance would secure the whole weight of the crown of Aragon to the side of the leaguers. The court party, as may be supposed, strained every nerve to defeat the negotiations. The mature pretensions of Alfonso V. of Portugal were renewed, and strongly urged by Henry upon his sister. An embassy, headed by the Archbishop of Lisbon, waited upon Isabella at Ocaña to urge her to reconsider the Portuguese proposals. But Isabella persisted in her former refusal. She had made up her mind that she would marry her cousin of Aragon. And as those who had dealings with her were ever made to know, her gentle manner did but conceal a power of will and an inflexible tenacity of purpose that had long been absent from the children of Trastamara. Yet was her position at the moment not only one of difficulty but of positive danger. Embarrassing princes and princesses were easily removed in fifteenth-century Spain. The Marquis of Villena, who had been restored to his position and to his influence at court, was only deterred by the attitude of the inhabitants from actually arresting her at Ocaña. Her brother would scarcely have resented, even if he had not at once approved the step. It was not strange that Isabella should feel that Prince Ferdinand, with all Aragon at his back, would be a protector as well as a consort; and she determined to delay no longer in concluding the marriage that she desired. The envoys of Aragon received a final and a favourable reply; and hastened with their good news to Saragossa. No time was lost by John or by Ferdinand; and the marriage treaty, drawn up by Isabella and her advisers, and approved by King John of Aragon, was signed by Ferdinand at Cervera on the 7th of January, 1469.

II.—*Ferdinand of Aragon.*

Ferdinand of Aragon, the young prince for whom so high a destiny was reserved, not only in the history of Aragon, but in that of the great united nation that was so soon to spring into lusty manhood, had just completed his eighteenth year. Tall and well-proportioned, with a fair complexion, a bright eye, and a persuasive tongue, inured to fatigue and already skilled in every military exercise, Ferdinand had all the vivacious intelligence and bold activity of his mother, with much of the astuteness and determination of his father; and he had not as yet displayed any of the unscrupulous ambition that he inherited from Joanna Henriquez, nor the cold-hearted selfishness that were transmitted to him by the Aragonese John II. By blood he was at least three-fourths a Castilian. His mother was a daughter of Castile. His grandfather, the good Regent Ferdinand, had been summoned from his own country to rule over Aragon; and now he himself, the grandson of that good king, was called upon to leave Aragon that he might rule, if he did not actually reign, in Castile.

Isabella was a year older than her cousin. Four nations claim the honour of her ancestry. Her great-grandmother, Eleanor of Aragon, was the one Aragonese ancestress of her future husband. Her grandmother was an English princess, Katharine of Lancaster. Her mother was Isabella of Portugal. Isabella of Castile had thus far more Aragonese blood in her veins than Ferdinand of Aragon. Ferdinand was far more of a Castilian than Isabella of Castile.

While the marriage negotiations were progressing, Isabella had moved her residence from Ocaña to Madrigal. Her intended marriage soon became known in Castile; and the Marquis of Villena resolved to strike a final blow to defeat her intentions. His nephew, the Bishop of Burgos, corrupted her servants. The citizens of Madrigal were intimidated by a letter from the king. The Archbishop of Seville, at the head of a considerable force, proceeded to secure her person. The energy of a rival prelate alone saved her from actual arrest. For while his Grace of Seville was advancing from the more distant south, his Grace of Toledo appeared at the head of a small body of horsemen, and carried off Isabella to a safe refuge among her friends at Valladolid. Envoys were sent to Aragon to warn Ferdinand; and one of them, Alfonso of Palencia, who, like old Ayala, was at once a courtier and administrator, has left us a graphic account

of their dangerous mission, ere they arrived at length in safety at Saragossa. The return journey presented even greater difficulties. But the astute King John of Aragon provided for every contingency. He had even, in view of the religious scruples of his future daughter-in-law, furnished himself with an appropriate *Bull*, dispensing the parties from any impediment that might exist to the marriage on the ground of consanguinity. The precious document did not, indeed, issue from the Papal Chancery. Paul II. was hostile to the marriage, and he would assuredly have refused to grant the necessary licence if he had been applied to for a dispensation. The Bull had, in fact, been manufactured by the king himself, with the assistance of the friendly Archbishop of Toledo. But it served its purpose. And on the death of the reigning Pope it was replaced by a genuine document which was dated back to the day of the marriage, so as to relieve the mind of Isabella, which was troubled as soon as she was made acquainted with the amiable, if not actually pious, fraud that had been practised upon her tender conscience.[1]

Nor was a more material subterfuge disregarded by the King of Aragon. An imposing cavalcade of sham ambassadors from Aragon to Castile took the most frequented road, and diverted the attention of the Duke of Medina Celi, with the Mendozas and the other Castilian nobles whose forces patrolled the frontier; while a modest company of *merchants*, among whom the heir of Aragon was content to figure as a serving-man, plodded unobtrusively across country, and arrived in safety at Burgo de Osma, where the Count of Treviño was awaiting the royal cavalcade with a considerable body of men-at-arms in the service of Isabella. It was late at night when the wayfarers demanded admittance; and a chance stone from the battlements had well-nigh shattered the hopes of Spain, when the voice of the unwounded Ferdinand was recognised by his friends within the fortress; and a joyful blare of trumpets announced the safe arrival of the royal lover. At Dueñas, on the 9th of October, he was received by the faithful knights and nobles of Castile,

[1] When the Cardinal d'Arras was engaged in negotiating the marriage of the Duke of Guienne with Joanna *Beltraneja*, he announced in public audience at Medina del Campo the spuriousness of this Bull. Isabella, who was then for the first time made acquainted with the deception that had been practised upon her by the Archbishop of Toledo, immediately sent to Rome for a new and genuine Bull, which was accordingly granted by Sixtus IV., antedated to 1st December, 1471, and sent to Isabella by the sacred hands of the Spanish Cardinal Roderic Borgia, afterwards Pope Alexander VI. *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia*, tom. vi.; and Mariana, xxiii., 14.

and on the fifteenth of the same month he was admitted to the presence of Isabella.

That royal and noble lady was then in the full bloom of her maiden beauty. She had just completed her nineteenth year. In stature somewhat superior to the majority of her countrywomen, and inferior to none in personal grace and charm, her golden hair and her bright blue eye told perhaps of her Lancastrian ancestry. Her beauty was remarkable in a land where beauty has never been rare; her dignity was conspicuous in a country where dignity is the heritage not of a class but of a nation. Of her courage, no less than of her discretion, she had already given abundant proofs. Bold and resolute, modest and reserved, she had all the simplicity of a great lady, born for a great position. She became in after life something of an autocrat and over much of a bigot. But it could not be laid to the charge of a persecuted princess of nineteen, that she was devoted to the service of her religion.

But little remained to be done, now that Ferdinand was actually at her side. The marriage treaty had been already executed. The famous Bull, so thoughtfully provided by the bridegroom's father, was duly displayed. Isabella could go to the altar without any scruples of conscience. And so, on the 19th of October, 1469, in a private house at Valladolid, where the princess did Don Juan de Vivero the honour to lodge, the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella was celebrated by the warlike Archbishop of Toledo. There was no adventitious pomp in the august ceremony; no glory of silks or jewels, no military pageant, no diplomatic representation. A small sum of money was hardly raised to defray the necessary expenses. But the ceremony was the more imposing as it was. No brave processions, no splendid ornaments, no display of gilded finery could add lustre to the inherent greatness of the occasion when the heiress of Saint Ferdinand stretched out her fair and fortunate hand to the future grandsire of Charles V.

III.—*La Beltraneja.*

The marriage of Isabella stirred up her impotent brother, or rather his more potent courtiers, the Pachecos and the Mendozas, to strike a blow for the unfortunate *Juana la Beltraneja;* and at a formal Assembly held near the Monastery of Paulos, in the valley of Lozola, between Buitrago and Segovia, in October,

1470, the rights and claims of Isabella under the compact of the Toros de Guisando were declared forfeited, as undoubtedly they legally were. Joanna was pronounced the legitimate heir of the crown of Castile; and the young princess was solemnly affianced, in the presence of the ambassadors of Louis XI., to the king's brother, Duke of Guienne, and heir-presumptive to the crown of France.[1]

Many of the most considerable families in the kingdom, the Mendozas, the Pachecos, the Zuñigas, the Velascos, the Pimentels, unmindful of the homage so recently tendered to Isabella, now openly expressed their adhesion to her niece. Honours and estates were showered upon the supporters of the Beltraneja. The Marquis of Villena was made Grand Master of Santiago. His son was raised to the Dukedom of Escalona. A mere record of the new titles would fill a page of this work. Meanwhile Ferdinand and Isabella held their little court at Dueñas, on the Pisuerga, between Palencia and Valladolid. Their fortunes were for the moment in jeopardy. Castile appeared to be slipping from their grasp. There was disquieting news from Aragon.

John II. had mortgaged his northern provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne to his more crafty neighbour, Louis XI. of France, to secure his timely succour in 1462. John had never intended that Louis should keep the provinces. Each monarch thought that he was outwitting the other. But Louis remained in possession. At length in 1473 the inhabitants, covertly stirred up by John, broke out into sudden but carefully planned rebellion. The French were massacred. The Spaniards were admitted. In an incredibly short space of time the entire country, with the exception of the castle of Perpignan and the insignificant fortresses of Salces and Collioure, acknowledged once more the supremacy of Aragon.

But Louis XI. was not a man to allow himself to be worsted either in arms or in intrigue. Hastily collecting a large army, said to have amounted to 30,000 men, he advanced on Perpignan; and John, who was engaged in besieging the citadel, found himself in turn besieged by the French force. But the Duke of Savoy, who commanded for Louis XI., was no match for John of Aragon. Nor did Ferdinand leave his father without prompt and ready assistance. Hastening from Dueñas at the head of a considerable body of Castilian horsemen, and gathering reinforcements on his rapid march through Aragon, he arrived before Perpignan to raise the siege, and force the French commander to agree to a favourable treaty of peace.

[1] *Documentos Ineditos*, xiv., 421.

The conditions, no doubt, were such as neither party intended to observe. But each one hoped to gain some advantage over the other in the interpretation of the treaty; and an immediate suspension of arms was desired by both. John, who was successful, was bankrupt. Louis, who had men and money in reserve, was for the moment unprepared for action. So the treaty was signed with the usual oaths and ceremonials. And then each of the high contracting parties set to work to see how its provisions could best be avoided or evaded. Ferdinand was at last able to betake himself to his young queen, and to his new home beyond his father's frontiers. He had acquitted himself admirably in Aragon. He found his prospects bright on his return to Castile. Isabella had dispatched a "sure agent" to the court of France. She had given proofs of her usual sagacity at home. Her influence in the country was daily increasing. The legitimacy of Joanna was daily discredited; and most important of all, her affianced husband, the Duke of Guienne, had died at Bordeaux, in May, 1472,[1] and Henry found it impossible to count upon any further support from France. Cardinal Mendoza, moreover, Archbishop of Seville, and the most powerful prelate in Spain, so long one of the leading supporters of the party of Henry, perceiving the true drift of politics in Castile, had thought it prudent to enter into secret negotiations with Isabella. And finally, through the instrumentality of Andres de Cabrera, an officer of the king's household, a friendly interview had actually been brought about between Henry and Isabella, and the royal brother and sister were found in amicable converse at Segovia by Ferdinand on his arrival from Roussillon.

But this domestic harmony was not of long duration. The discovery of a scheme designed by the Grand Master of Santiago (better known by his old name of Marquis of Villena), to surprise and arrest Isabella, on the ground of an attempt on her part to poison the king his master, led to a sudden breaking up of the festivities; while Ferdinand was once more summoned by his father to assist him in Aragon.

In the vain hope of cajoling the prince of cajolers into some advantageous interpretation of the treaty of Olite, John II. had sent an embassy to the court of Paris. The ambassadors had been delayed and deluded by Louis XI., while he was making his preparations for a new and vigorous campaign in Roussillon, and when his preparations were satisfactorily completed, the

[1] Poisoned in all probability by his brother's orders. Sismondi, xiv., 352-5.

envoys were dismissed with punctilious politeness, to tell their master that he was at war with France. John was not only outwitted, but he was outgeneralled by Louis. Perpignan was once more besieged in the autumn of 1472; and, after a heroic but vain resistance, the city surrendered to the French commander on the 14th of March, 1475.

But graver events had happened before its fall. The Grand Master of Santiago had died in the month of November, 1474; and the feeble Henry had not long survived his favourite. Isabella was Queen of Castile.

IV.—*The Queen of Castile.*

It was a magnificent inheritance. But it needed a firm hand to grasp it with effect. Isabella was a young queen [1] of two-and twenty. Against her was ranged, with all that could be counted as legal right on their side, the partisans of her niece, not only in her own country, but in the neighbouring kingdom of Portugal. It needed a great heart to withstand so tremendous a combination. But in the veins of Isabella flowed the blood of the Guzmans and the blood of the Plantagenets: [2] and she hesitated not for one moment to face the difficulties of her new position.

By her own orders she was at once proclaimed queen at Segovia (December, 1474), where she was then residing, with the usual civil and ecclesiastical ceremonial.[3] A Cortes was immediately summoned to meet at Segovia in February, 1475, which declared her right and title to the crown,[4] and swore allegiance

[1] Born 22nd April, 1452.

[2] Isabella had not only an English grandmother but an English great-grandmother. Her great-grandson, Phillip II. of Spain, was descended on the mother's side from the first wife, and by his father from the second wife, of John of Gaunt.

Mary of England, being the representative of the House of York, the marriage of Philip and Mary was the legitimate union of the House of York and Lancaster; and a child of Philip and Mary would have had a better title to the crown of England than any Lancastrian sovereign.

[3] Isabella's actual titles were Queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Gallicia, the Mallorcas, Seville, Sardinia, Cordova, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, the Algarves, Algeciras, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, Countess of Barcelona, Sovereign Lady of Biscay and Molina, Duchess of Athens and Neopatria, Countess of Roussillon, Cerdagne, Marchioness of Ovistan and Goziano.

[4] *The Escritura de Confederacion*, dated 19th February, 1473, by which Henry de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia swears fealty to Ferdinand and Isabella, and is invested by them with the grand mastership that Juan Pacheco had usurped, is printed in the xxi. vol. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 553, 568, etc.

to her as Queen of Castile.[1] The first troubles of the young sovereign did not arise from the machinations of her enemies, but from the jealous presumption of her husband.

Ferdinand, as we have shown, was the nearest male representative of Henry of Trastamara, and was, after the accession of Isabella, heir presumptive to the throne of Castile. The son of John II. of Aragon was not likely to allow the opportunity to pass of supplanting his own wife in her succession. But the gentle Isabella gave proofs of astonishing firmness. Cardinal Mendoza and the ever serviceable Archbishop of Toledo, after careful examination of precedents, solemnly pronounced that whatever might be the case in Aragon, a female could undoubtedly inherit the crown of Castile;[2] and a settlement of the royal differences, and a delimitation of the respective powers of the queen and her consort, if it failed entirely to satisfy the demands of Ferdinand, at least averted the calamity of a rupture

[1] The royal arms of Spain, as may be supposed, have undergone many changes. In the earliest shields the lion and castle are parted per cross without supporters, as is exemplified on the tomb of Edward I. in Westminster Abbey. On the union of the crowns of Aragon and Castile by Ferdinand and Isabella, the shield was divided by coupé and party, the first and fourth areas were given to Castile and Leon, and second and third to Aragon and Sicily; Navarre and Jerusalem were introduced subsequently. The shield was supported by the eagle of St. John, sable with one head. This apostle was the patron (the San Juan de los Reyes) of the Catholic kings. To him they dedicated their hospitals, churches and convents; after him they christened their only son Juan, whose premature death was so disastrous to Spain. Each of the sovereigns assumed a separate and strictly personal device. Isabella selected a bundle of arrows tied together, the emblem of *Union*. The jealous despotic Ferdinand chose the Yoke, *la coyunda*, which he imposed on Christian and Moor. To mark his *equality* with his Castilian queen, he added the motto *Tăto Mŏta—tanto monta* = one is worth as much as the other, which is the true etymology of our English word *tantamount*. Their grandson Charles V. brought into the shield the quarterings of Austria, Burgundy, Brabant and Flanders, and the apostolic one-headed eagle gave way to the double-headed eagle of the Empire. The shield was then encircled with the golden fleece; the ragged staff of Burgundy and the Pillars of Hercules were added as supporters, which are of rare occurrence in Spanish heraldry. The emperor struck out the negative from the "ne plus ultra" of Hercules, and proclaimed to the world that there were *no limits* to Spanish ambition. The imperial eagle was discontinued by Philip II., when the Empire reverted to his uncle Ferdinand. He added the arms of Portugal and of Flanders, impaling Tyrol. The Bourbon, Philip V., introduced the three *fleur-de-lys* of France in an escutcheon of pretence. The arms of Spain as struck on the well-known Peso fuerte or "hard dollar," the universal specie of four continents, are the simple quarterings of Castile and Leon, between the Pillars of Hercules as supporters. See *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 127.

[2] According to the Aragonese law of succession, excluding females, which however, had been disregarded in the case of his own grandfather, the Castilian regent Ferdinand, young Ferdinand would have been the rightful King of Castile; but as we have seen in many cases in the course of the history, the Roman law of succession was followed in Castile, and women of a line took preference to males of a more remote line.—H.

between the queen and her husband, when division would have been fatal at once to Ferdinand, to Isabella, and to Spain. Isabella, indeed, with the wise liberality of a strong nature, conceded much that was undoubtedly her own, to preserve the rest for Castile.

The administration of justice was to be in the hands of both sovereigns conjointly; royal letters, charters and proclamations were to bear the signatures of the king and the queen; when not residing in the same place, each one was to administer justice independently of the other; the heads or effigies of both were to be stamped upon the coins of the realm; the united arms of Castile and Aragon were to be emblazoned on the royal seal. To Isabella alone was reserved the power of appointment to municipal and ecclesiastical posts, and the right of interference with the fiscal regulations of her country. All governors and commanders of fortified towns and castles were to render homage only to the queen in Castile.

Ferdinand was dissatisfied with the arrangement, and the recognition of his daughter Isabella, who had been born in 1470, as heiress of Castile, alone prevented him from retiring to Aragon in disgust. But Castile, however it was to be administered, was not to be acquired without a struggle. Were the supporters of the rival Joanna to be successful in the field, the share of Ferdinand in the administration of the country would scarcely have been worth delimiting. The activity of the Marquis of Villena —together with the agreeable prospect of some fighting in the immediate future, decided the heir of Aragon to adopt the only honourable course that was open to him—to remain at the side of his royal wife, and to defend her rights to Castile.

The assailants were many and important. The Marquis of Villena, the Duke of Arevalo, the richest and most powerful among the grandees of Spain; the young Marquis of Cadiz, and the Grand Master of Calatrava were not the only great names in the coalition in favour of the late king's doubtful daughter. The Archbishop of Toledo, the bold soldier who had galloped across country to save Isabella's life at Madrigal, the bolder Churchman who had forged the Pope's Bull to quiet her conscience at Valladolid, the priest who had married her in 1469, the lawyer who had assured her wedded independence in 1475, taking umbrage at some fancied preference of the queen for their common friend, Cardinal Mendoza, withdrew from the court and attached himself to the queen's enemies. Alfonso V. of Portugal (1432-1481), moreover, a king always ready to engage in any strange and

exciting adventure, proposed to marry Joanna, surnamed La Beltraneja, who was not only his own niece, but who was also his junior by over thirty years. A Bull of dispensation could, of course, be obtained from Sixtus IV. ; and the royal lover, whose bold and successful forays in Barbary had gained for him the suggestive title of "The African," threw himself heart and soul into this new and romantic enterprise in Castile. In the month of May, 1475, Alfonso, without further warning, and after very hasty preparations, crossed the frontier into Spain, and was solemnly affianced to his youthful bride at Plasencia, where the royal pair were immediately proclaimed King and Queen of Castile (12th May, 1475). Ferdinand and Isabella meanwhile had composed their differences, and devoted themselves to the equipment of an army to defend their rights. Nor was the queen less active or less capable in her exertions than her more experienced husband. The regiments of Isabella were no less efficient than the forces of Ferdinand.

However fortunate Alfonso of Portugal may have been in his African expeditions, he showed himself a very indifferent general in Spain. A long delay at Arevalo gave time to his rivals to prepare their army, and when, after two months' inaction, he marched forward and possessed himself of Toro and Zamora, the Castilian forces were already on their way to oppose him. Yet the position of Isabella was critical in the extreme. The Archbishop of Toledo had not only joined the invaders, but he took with him a body of 500 lances. Ferdinand had been repulsed before Toro. Prince John of Portugal looked forward to a second Aljubarrota. All Leon seemed at the mercy of the invaders. Isabella, nothing daunted, convoked a Cortes at Medina del Campo (August, 1475). Her appeal to the people was eminently successful. Supplies to a large extent were voted by the devoted Commons. The church plate was pledged to the extent of half its value by a loyal clergy. The army of Ferdinand was reinforced. New regiments were raised by Isabella. The Portuguese once more remained inactive, and allowed the defenders of Castile the time they sorely needed to complete their preparations. At length, in February, 1476, between Toro and Zamora, the combined forces of Ferdinand and Isabella inflicted a severe and decisive defeat[1] upon the Portuguese and rebel army.

[1] Commonly known as the battle of Toro. Battles are not often fought on the precise spot of ground by which name they are known in history. See *Documentos Ineditos*, xiii., 396-400, where a letter from Ferdinand is printed, addressed by him at the time to the Concejo of Baeza, and giving his account of the victory.

Zamora as well as Toro fell into the hands of the victors, and the invaders, unmindful of Aljubarrota, retreated in some confusion into their own country.

Nor was the moral effect less remarkable in Spain. The humbler waiters upon fortune immediately declared for Isabella. The Duke of Arevalo soon after gave his adhesion. The Archbishop of Toledo was not far behind him; and the Marquis of Villena was at length content to enjoy his diminished revenues under the protection of his lawful sovereign. Isabella walked barefoot in a procession to the Church of St. Paul at Tordesillas in honour of the victory. Ferdinand contented himself with the building and endowment of a monastery of the Order of St. Francis, at Toledo, known as *San Juan de los Reyes.*[1] Louis XI. of France, who had encouraged the Portuguese, was not long in offering his alliance to Ferdinand; and a treaty of perpetual peace between France and Castile, promoted by the ever-vigilant King of Aragon, John II., was signed at St. Jean de Luz in October, 1478.

To make Isabella's victory more complete, a new Bull was obtained from Sixtus IV. annulling the marriage of Alfonso of Portugal with Joanna the Beltraneja; and that unhappy lady, the sport of fortune, and a puppet in the hands of kings and Popes, retired into the Convent of St. Clare at Coimbra, while her disappointed husband, Alfonso the African—romantic to the end—resigned his crown, and assumed the habit of a Franciscan friar.

But before Isabella's rival had taken the veil, and not long after the signature of the Treaty of St. Jean de Luz, which he had so earnestly promoted, John of Aragon died, on the 19th of January, 1479, in the bishop's palace at Barcelona, in the eighty-third year of his age.

Ferdinand and Isabella were King and Queen in Spain.

[1] The chapel of S. Juan de los Reyes at Toledo, which was built by Ferdinand and Isabella, is cited by Fergusson (151-2) as a most interesting example of contemporary work, and compared by him with Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE REFORMS OF ISABELLA.

(1479-1485.)

On the death of John II. Ferdinand succeeded without opposition to his father's throne. For over 300 years the little kingdom of Aragon had been ruled by kings of more than common merit. James I. was a prince among conquerors and a scholar among princes. Peter III. was one of the greatest kings that ever bore rule in the Peninsula. Peter IV., cruel, false and formal as he was, showed considerable political intelligence, and if he was an eminently bad man he was undoubtedly a good ruler. To compare him—unfavourably, as an English writer has done—with his namesake of Castile, is to say that Richelieu was more cruel than Caligula, or Louis XI. than Robespierre. Ferdinand I. was one of the best kings that ever sat upon a throne, and his son Alfonso—if his great reputation was gained rather in Italy than in Aragon, was at least represented in Spain by a wise and worthy queen. And finally, John II., one of the least admirable of his line, was an astute and vigorous ruler, neither falser nor more cruel than policy dictated—a king who at least aspired to be a statesman.

The people of Aragon had ever been more active, more enterprising, and more independent than the people of Castile; and their free institutions had borne good fruit in the prosperity of their country and in the virtue of their nobles, as well as in the general wisdom of their kings. The nobility of Aragon was less rich, less turbulent, and at once more independent and more loyal than their cousins of Castile. If their estates were less vast and their castles less numerous, their personal culture and general civilisation were far in advance of that of their neighbours. It was not for nothing that the knights of Aragon joined hands with those of Provence; that the merchant princes of Catalonia sailed the Eastern seas; that their kings resided in

Naples and Sicily, and asserted their influence in the Ægean and the Hellespont.

The history and the more recent traditions of Castile were far different. From the day of the departure of the good Regent Ferdinand in 1412, to that of the Treaty of Lisbon in 1479, a period of nearly seventy years, the government may be characterised as anarchy tempered by favouritism; and the condition of the country over which Isabella now found herself the undoubted mistress, had become deplorable in the extreme. Outside the walls of the fortified towns, life and property had long been protected only by the voluntary activity of the old popular *Hermandades*. Within the fortresses, her majesty's liege subjects were at the mercy of the Alvaro or the Pacheco who happened at the moment to prevail. To the turbulent aristocracy of ancient Castile that fought and plundered in the time of John, his wretched successor, by a profligate abuse of his sovereignty, had added an upstart nobility, with all the vices and none of the virtues of the older race of grandees; and the nobles of every degree and condition, with rare and remarkable exceptions, agreed only in oppressing the people, and defying the authority of the crown. The great military and religious orders were the resort of worthless bravos; and their vast estates were but an object of plunder to contending grand masters; while the knights were content to keep out of the way of their Moslem enemies, and to occupy themselves only in the robbery and plunder of their Christian neighbours.[1] The secular clergy was grossly ignorant; the regular clergy was scandalously immoral. The court had long been an example of all that was contemptible in vice, and all that was shameless in depravity. The queen had lived in open adultery in her husband's palace. The king had borne witness to his manliness by displaying a bevy of mistresses; and had demonstrated his religion by transferring them from time to time to posts of honour and importance in conventual establishments.[2]

To appreciate fairly the importance of the policy of Ferdinand the Catholic as regards the nobility, we must bear in mind their conduct during the preceding reign. Henry III., of

[1] En cada orden avia dos maestros, y tanto se robaban que despoblaban la tierra. Lafuente, ix., 40-42.

[2] Con la mision de reformar la comunidad! Lafuente, 42.

A terrible and graphic picture of the terrorism and lawlessness that prevailed throughout Spain on the accession of Isabella may be found in Pulgar, *Cron.*, ii., 66; Lucio Marineo Sicul, *Cosas Memorables*, fo. 160; and Lafuente, ix., 39, 40, and 164-7.

Castile, a vigorous ruler, was hardly able to provide for the daily expenses of his table; while his palatines were rolling in ill-gotten wealth. The constant regencies from the death of Henry of Trastamara to the death of John II., whose entire reign was one long minority, while they diminished the power of the crown, diminished also the respect in which the king was held, and absolutely invited the plunder of the nobility. Councils of regency and troops of favourites thought only of enriching themselves and their friends, while they purchased the forbearance of their rivals. The people alone appeared to retain some of the virtues of their race. Superior to the clergy in morality, to the nobles in dignity, and to the kings in wisdom, and far above all in their solid worth, sober, self-denying, brave and independent, the Castilian peasant and the Castilian citizen inherited much that was noblest in the Iberian, the Roman and the Goth, whose blood was mingled in his veins. And if by a combination of vigour and prudence, of firmness and tact, and above all, by those commanding qualities which combine to make great leaders of men ever respected by their fellows, Isabella and her husband subdued and civilised the nobles of Castile, they would never have accomplished the difficult task without the hearty co-operation of the Commons, and the solid worth of the great mass of the population of Spain.

The power of the Cortes of Castile is supposed to have reached its highest point in the time of John I. Disregarded in the troublous times of John II., and still less considered by Henry IV., the third estate was treated with marked respect by the prudent Isabella; and the Assembly of Toledo, in 1480, is one of the most celebrated in the history of Castile. But this popular authority was not destined to be of long duration. The Catholic kings were essentially autocratic, and as soon as they had sufficiently humbled the power of the nobility,[1] the influence

[1] The nominal authority, at all events of the Cortes, was never doubted nor denied, at least during the lifetime of Isabella. Ferdinand was by no means so punctilious, either as Regent of Castile after the queen's death, or in Aragon at any time. When, for instance, at the Cortes of Calatayud, in September, 1515, in spite of all the manœuvres of his popular son, the Archbishop of Saragossa, the Commons refused to accede to some highly unconstitutional request, the dissentients —the members of the Parliamentary opposition—were summarily dismissed from the public service, and declared incapable of holding office in Aragon for the future. Zurita (VI.), x., 93, 94.

But both king and queen practically assumed a good deal of the power that was supposed to reside in the Cortes, by the lavish promulgation of Pragmaticas or Royal Ordinances. See Don Antonio Sanchez Moguel, *Discurso* (Madrid, 1894).

Ferdinand summoned but four Cortes in Aragon during his reign of thirty-seven years. Capmany, *Practica y Estilo*, 62; Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 493; and

of the Commons was suffered to become rapidly smaller, until at length, towards the end of the reign, the power and independence of the estates of the realm were greatly impaired. While the influence of the Cortes decayed, moreover, the worst and not the best qualities of the people themselves were developed by the autocratic bigotry of Isabella and the cruel avarice of Ferdinand; and the Castilians, as they gradually lost their freedom, became false, and covetous, and intolerant. It is a dark picture, but to paint it in brighter colours would be false to history.

When Isabella considered the country she was called upon to govern, she might well have been appalled at the greatness of the task that lay before her. The treasury was empty; the coinage was debased. From 150 licensed mints, and as many unauthorised manufactories, bad money was poured over the country, until at last the coin of the realm would be accepted by no prudent man in satisfaction of any debt, or in exchange for any commodity. The roads swarmed with robbers and cutthroats of every social degree. The fields were well-nigh uncultivated. Industry was hampered by public restrictions and by private rapine. Commerce was no more. A multiplicity of laws, which no man regarded, were evaded by judges, whom no man feared. The revenues of the crown had sunk to an uncertain income of about 1,000,000 reals, or £10,000 a year.

Revolutions in modern times are supposed to be always the work of a faction. The revolution which in a dozen years made Castile one of the most prosperous, one of the most orderly, and one of the most glorious commonwealths in Europe, was brought about by the masterful and autocratic hands of the Catholic kings of Spain. The revolution indeed is one of the most remarkable in the history of mediæval Europe. It is a great national story, romantic, splendid, popular, as yet unsung in ballad or epic; and the heroine is Isabella of Castile.

To say that she had faults, and failings, and even sins in plenty, is only to say that she was human. But her faults were the faults of a great ruler. The influence of her consort, and the influence of her confessors, and the many evil influences of

especially Zurita, vi., fol. 96. A list of some of the most important of these *ordenanzas* or *pragmaticas*, divided into classes, is given by Lafuente, ix., pp. 493-8. See generally, Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*. (The reader should be reminded that constitutionally in Castile these pragmatics or decrees were granted on presentments from the Cortes. In cases of assumed urgency the sovereign took the initiative and published the decree first, which then had to be confirmed when the Cortes met.—H.)

the age in which she lived, tended no doubt in time to corrupt the policy as well as to degrade the character of Isabella. But her critics, and they are many in these critical days, should contrast her rule, even when it was least admirable, with that of Henry who went before her, or with that of Ferdinand who came after her, and judge Isabella by the standard of the fifteenth, and not by that of the nineteenth century.

With everything in disorder, it was hard to know where to begin. Madmen and mobs pull all things down without discrimination, leaving it to chance to rebuild and to restore. The inspired reformer is moved to walk more warily. The queen gave early proofs of that natural sagacity, and of that consummate statesmanship that ever distinguished her in discerning that the first duty of all government is the protection of life and property. She took advantage of an existing organisation, sanctified it with an epithet, strengthened it with an army, justified it with a code; and out of the remnants of a time-honoured popular institution she produced that wonderful and most efficient royal constabulary, which was known by the name of the Holy Brotherhood—the far-famed *Santa Hermandad*.[1]

At Dueñas in July, 1476, the establishment of this new police force was proposed by the queen. The Cortes readily gave their consent; and within a few months the organisation of the *Santa Hermandad* was complete. Rapidity and decision characterised every movement of Isabella. Alfonso de Quintanilla, Juan Ortego, and the Chronicler Alfonso de Palencia, were the first directors, and a force of no less than 2000 horsemen, with an appropriate number of archers on foot, were sent out into the country to maintain the queen's peace. Nothing was spared to give authority to the new institution. Don Alfonso of Aragon, the king's brother, was entrusted with the chief command of the constabulary. A supreme *Junta*, composed of deputies from every province in Castile, judged without appeal such questions or causes as were submitted to it by the local *Alcades*. The *Santa Hermandad*, consisting thus at once of a constabulary and a judiciary, combined the functions of catch-pole, judge and executive. Highway robbery and assaults, housebreaking, rape, and, above all, resistance to authority, were the crimes more especially submitted to its jurisdiction; but it is probable that any local evil-doer would have found its

[1] For an account of the first institution of the early popular or municipal *Hermandades*, see *ante*, vol. i., p. 317.

powers abundantly sufficient for the disposal of his particular case. A plea in bar of its jurisdiction would doubtless have been treated as resistance to authority, and would have been disposed of by the amputation of a leg or an arm, if not by the more convincing argument of a brace of arrows.[1]

The expenses of the new organisation were defrayed by a house-tax of 18,000 maravedis on every hundred householders. Two alcaldes were established in every village. The *cuadrilleros*, or officers of the brotherhood, were posted in every hamlet. The proceedings of these local tribunals were summary. Their decisions were final. Their punishments were tremendous. It was not surprising that this *Santa Hermandad* should have been by no means popular with the classes whose violence it restrained; and a great number of prelates and grandees, with the Duke of Infantado at their head, met at Cabeña early in 1480 to protest against so unconstitutional a force.

To speak of Isabella as she is generally spoken of in history is an absurdity almost self-evident. Her dealings with her brother, her choice of a husband, her usurpation of her niece's crown, and her personal activity and vigour in the prosecution of a successful war for the maintenance of her personal authority —these are not the works of a timid girl thinking only of the precepts of religion and the practice of good works. Far from being intimidated by this aristocratic demonstration as regards her new constabulary, she returned a haughty answer to the protest, and took steps for the establishment of the force that had already proved so efficient, upon a more permanent footing than before. Nor was it until the end of the century—when, according to Peter Martyr, Spain was the most orderly country in Europe—that the Hermandad was reorganised and reduced to the modest proportions of a simple police.[2]

But Ferdinand and Isabella did not leave to others, not even to the Holy Brotherhood, the task of restoring public order and public confidence in Castile. They visited every part of the queen's dominions themselves, and brought home to every

[1] The punishment of death was inflicted by arrows. The officers of the Hermandad were known as *archers*. Que cada uno mire por el virote (let every man look out for the arrow) is a fine old Castilian proverb, suggesting that every man should mind his own business.

The laws and regulations promulgated at various times by the supreme Junta of the Hermandad were codified and published by the Junta General of Tordelaguna in 1485.

[2] Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 31. The *Hermandad* was established, in the first instance, as an experiment, for three years only. It was reformed in 1498.

local magnate, in city or in castle, the fact that the royal[1] power was, and would remain supreme. Isabella was a lady, she was a queen, and, above all, she was an autocrat. Gracious and gentle in her manner, she brooked no opposition from prince or peer; and she soon made it known and felt throughout Spain that, although she was the daughter of John II. and the sister of Henry IV., her will was law in Castile. Beautiful, virtuous, discreet, with that highest expression of proud dignity that is seen in a peculiar simplicity of manner, with a hard heart and a fair countenance, an inflexible will, and a mild manner—something of a formalist, more of a bigot—Isabella united much that was characteristic of old Castile with not a little that was characteristic of new Spain. And if her boldness was inherited from the Cid, her bigotry was bequeathed to Philip II.

No man can read the history of the times without being struck by the enormous personal influence of Isabella. An accomplished horsewoman, a tireless traveller, indefatigable in her attention to business of State, the queen with her court moved about from place to place, swift to punish crime and to encourage virtue, boldly composing the differences and compelling the submission of rival nobles, frowning upon the laxity of the clergy, denouncing the heresy of the people, and laying a heavy hand upon enemies of every degree and evildoers of every class. In Andalusia the unaccustomed and unexpected presence of the sovereigns was everywhere productive of peace and order. Even in the remotest districts of Gallicia, the royal power was felt. Over fifty fortresses, the strongholds of knightly robbers, were razed to the ground, and 1500 noble highwaymen were forced to fly the kingdom.[2] But although an honest and a vigorous executive had long been the great want of Castile, it was but the foundation of further reforms: and a Cortes was summoned to meet at Toledo in 1480, whose acts and resolutions are among the most celebrated in the constitutional history of Spain.

One of the first duties of this great Legislative Assembly was the codification of the enormous body of royal and parliamentary ordinances that had been promulgated since the great code of Alfonso X. The publication of this new collection,

[1] Spain, up to this time, had ever been rather an aristocracy than a monarchy. The king was, especially in Aragon, but *primus inter pares* until the time of Ferdinand and Isabella.

[2] Pulgar, *Reyes Catolicos*, ii., 97, 98; and Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, fol. 168.

known as the *Ordenanzas Reales*, which was compiled by one Alfonso Diaz de Montalva, by direction of the Cortes, was of great assistance in the due application of the law; and a royal decree, by which the sittings of the supreme court of the kingdom were permanently fixed at Valladolid,[1] was no less favourable to the regular administration of justice. The king and queen, moreover, announced that wherever their court might be, they would themselves sit once a week for the public audience of special appeals. This practice was in accordance with the spirit of the times; and it seems to have been highly appreciated by their subjects.

Nor were the administrative and legislative reforms of the Cortes of Toledo confined to the preparation of the *Ordenanzas Reales*. A new Council of State was invested with well defined powers, and the justiciary of the kingdom was reorganised and established upon so sound a basis, that it remained for close upon four centuries very much as it was constituted in 1480. But perhaps the most curious act of the Parliament of Toledo had reference to the altered condition of the nobility of Castile. One of the first objects of Isabella in carrying out her new policy in Spain was to check the depredations of her nobles, to curtail their power, and to crush their rebellious instincts. The weakness, the favouritism, and the unbridled licence of the last three reigns had rendered most of the grandees of the kingdom at once impatient of authority and unfit for power. The time for reform had arrived.[2] And the reforms of Isabella were radical, drastic, complete, without any of the cruelty of Peter, without any of the prodigality of his brother of Trastamara. The young queen by her firmness, her justice, and her uncompromising severity, gradually converted the most turbulent aristocracy in Europe into that magnificent, if somewhat submissive band of nobles, whose loyalty, whose chivalry, and whose devotion to their beautiful sovereign, made them, at the close of the fifteenth century, the admiration and the model of Christian Europe. But in 1480 the work of regeneration had scarcely begun; and one of the first and most important of the Acts or Resolutions that was passed by the Cortes of Toledo in that year was one

[1] On the subject of the reorganisation of the supreme court at Valladolid, and the system of criminal jurisprudence generally, see *Origen y memorias de la cancelleria de Valladolid.* G. M. Sapela, Valladolid, 1893.—H.

[2] The inferior nobility, or landed gentry, were well pleased with the humiliation of the grandees, by which their own position was relatively advanced. But as a class they were no worthier of royal support or patronage than the great lords.

practically resuming the extravagant grants and pensions that had been lavished upon many of the great nobles during the last unhappy reign.[1]

By this self-denying ordinance,[2] for some at least of the dispossessed nobles sat and voted in the Assembly, a yearly revenue of no less than 30,000,000 maravedis was acquired by Isabella from her discomfited grandees. There was no complicated actuarial calculation needed for the due disposal of their late acquisitions. The simple rule was adopted that pensions or estates granted without good consideration were absolutely forfeited to the crown; and that grants on account of services performed were to be reduced to an amount commensurate, in the opinion of the queen's confessor, with the value of the services actually rendered.

With the uncompromising Isabella, with the rapacious Ferdinand, with the jealous and unsympathetic Commons, the nobles found little mercy. When the power had been theirs, they had defied the court and oppressed the people; and now that a stronger than they had arisen in Castile, they were fain to give up their ill-gotten gains with the best grace they could. The Duke of Medina Sidonia was mulct of an income of 180,000 maravedis; Admiral Enriquez of 240,000; the Duke of Alva lost nearly 600,000; while Beltran de la Cueva, whose services to the State were not judged by Fray Fernando de Talavera to be deserving of any permanent pecuniary recognition, was compelled to give up a yearly revenue of nearly one million and a half of maravedis.[3]

A blow hardly less severe was struck at independent authority in Castile by the practical abolition of the great Military Orders, whose grand masters had ranked above the

[1] It has already been mentioned that the nobles were rarely summoned to the Cortes, by the end of the fifteenth century; nor does it appear that any of the grandees were summoned in the ordinary course, even to the most important Assembly at Toledo in 1480. Yet by a master stroke of policy, they were invited to attend, when the question of the forfeiture or resumption of grants was under the consideration of the Cortes.

[2] It must be remembered that in 1442 the Council of Valladolid presented a petition to John II., complaining of undue alienation of crown property to private persons, to the prejudice of the nation; and that the king had ordained that for the future all royal property should be inalienable. Marina, *Teoria de las Cortes*, i., Appendix ix., xiii.

The memorial that was presented by the grandees of the kingdom, praying that he would not alienate, by grants to his favourites, *las fincas de su patrimonio*, a very interesting document, is preserved among the papers of the Duke of Frias. It is without date, but is supposed by D. Miguel Salva to have been presented to John II. See *Doc. Ined.*, tom. xiv., p. 366.

[3] *Mem. de la Acad. Hist.*, vol. vi.

greatest nobles in power and in importance; and who in wealth, in influence, and in popular consideration had often vied with the king himself. The rise and progress of the three great Orders of Religious and Military Knighthood has already formed the subject of a chapter of this history; and although their legitimate work was long accomplished, and the very reason of their existence had passed away by the end of the fifteenth century, their actual power, their wealth, and their arrogance had increased rather than diminished under the feeble and uncertain rule of John II. and Henry IV. The manner of their treatment by Isabella was as discreet as it was effectual, and was, indeed, eminently characteristic of her methods of action. Ever loyal to her by no means virtuous husband,[1] she caused him to be elected to the Grand Masterships of the several Orders as those princely offices fell vacant. And thus, without bloodshed and without violence, a tremendous weapon of offence and defence was put into the hands of Ferdinand.

Calatrava was appropriated in 1487, Alcantara in 1494, and Santiago in 1499, and while the enormous revenues and vast estates of these celebrated Orders were thus placed at the disposal of the King of Aragon, the three-fold grand master obtained the supreme command of a devoted army, with fortresses and castles throughout the kingdom—three of the most dangerous rivals to the royal authority were removed for ever from the field of politics, of intrigue, and of battle in Castile.[2]

[1] Ferdinand had at least four illegitimate children by different ladies. (1) Juana, who was offered, with a double marriage portion, in 1489, to the King of Scots. (2) Juan, Archbishop of Saragossa; and two other daughters, both Prioresses of St. Clare of Madrigal. *Cal. State Papers* (Spain, 1862), 26.

Ramon Cardona, the unworthy successor of Gonsalva de Cordova in Italy, was also commonly supposed to be a son of Ferdinand. But the king's faults were certainly not those of a voluptuary.

[2] The grand masterships of the three Military Orders were not finally and formally annexed to the crown of Spain until 1523, when Adrian VI. issued a Bull to that effect. As some indication of the importance of the grand masterships merely as a source of income, I am able to give an account of the revenues derived by Philip II. in 1577, from the various Orders, which I take from a *contemporary* MS. in the British Museum. Cotton *MS.*, *Vespasian*, c. vi. *Amount of general revenue of each Order:—*

Santiago	... ...	386,000 Escudos.
Calatrava	... ...	255,000 ,,
Alcantara	... ...	171,000 ,,
		812,000

King's share as grand master *one-third* = 270,000 escudos, or say £150,000. (Although the crown thenceforward held the patronage of the Orders, and a share of the revenues appertaining to the grand masterships, the pensioned commanderies were continued and given to those who were supposed to deserve well of the sovereigns.—H.)

But long before Ferdinand the Catholic had finally added the proud title of Grand Master of Santiago to that of the Supreme Chief of Calatrava and of Alcantara, the great and on the whole the beneficent revolution that his royal consort had effected in Castile was already well nigh complete. That the treasury, which had been bankrupt in 1475, was full to overflowing in 1485, was due to many causes entirely independent of sound finance. But it was, at least, entirely satisfactory that the ordinary revenues of the country had largely increased.[1]

On Isabella's accession in 1474, the revenue of Castile amounted to 885,000 *reales*, or less than £10,000.[2] In 1482, after the resumption of the royal grants the amount had increased to 12,700,000, and in 1504, while the ordinary revenues amounted to over 26,000,000, the actual receipts of the royal exchequer were no less than 42,396,000 *reales*. Within a dozen years from the queen's accession, a debased currency had been replaced by sound money; private mints had been abolished, trade had been delivered from many oppressive burdens; roads and bridges were constructed and repaired; tolls and taxes were, as far as possible, repealed; industry and commerce had alike revived; agriculture, the ancient glory of Spain, had needed but a decade of peace to be prosecuted once again with marked success.

The towns recovered even more than their former glory. Toledo, Burgos, Valladolid, Medina del Campo, Cordova and Seville vied with Valencia and Saragossa and proudest Barcelona, as noble and prosperous cities, even before beautiful Granada was added to the Christian possession of Castile. Manufactures sprang up on every side; Spanish wool regained its old reputation in the markets of Europe, and especially in England; the breed of horses was improved; the armour of Segovia, the fine steel of Toledo, the woollen stuffs of Cuenca, the silver work of Valladolid were sent throughout Europe by the merchants of Barcelona; and before the end of the century,

[1] A special financial department, divided into the *Contaduria de Hacienda* and the *Contaduria de Rentas* was established by Isabella as early as 1476. For details see Gallardo, *Origen de las Rentas*, vol. i.; Lafuente, ix., pp. 491-3.

Some accounts and papers connected with the revenues of Castile in 1504-1512 will be found in vol. xxxix. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, pp. 423 *et seq.* (See also, for particulars of financial votes by the various Cortes of this and succeeding reign, Danvila y Collado's *Poder Civil en España*, vols. i. and ii.—H.)

[2] *Mem. Acad. Hist.*, vi., 5. (The author has calculated the real at the value of the imaginary copper real, or real de vellon = 2½. The coin in which the calculation was made should, in my opinion, be the silver real worth double that amount.—H.)

the silks of Granada had become one of the exports of triumphant Spain.[1] Nor was the revival restricted to the material world. Literature was once more admired and protected. Men of letters were not only welcomed at the court, but they were promoted to positions of honour and of profit in the State. An aristocracy of merit and of learning was fostered, not only for the sake of letters and of virtue, but as a counterpoise to the power of the old aristocracy of wealth and territorial importance. Piety and prudence were alike gratified by the selection of a churchman to humble the pride of a grandee. The universities acquired new importance, not only as the resort of students, but as schools for men of action; and their graduates as well as their professors were ever sure of the royal protection and support. As learning became more common and more respected, the position of the clergy became less scandalous; and the submissive piety of Isabella did not prevent her from endeavouring, by every means in her power, to restrain the disorders of the priesthood. Last of all, the court of Castile, for fifty years a prey to favourites and flatterers, and for another quarter of a century the abode of shameless and ignoble profligacy, had become dignified, correct, exemplary, the resort of the best and noblest women, of the bravest, the wisest, and the most cultivated men, that were to be found in Castile. It was an immense, a noble, a marvellous revolution. And to the greater honour of Isabella, it must be ever remembered that it was accomplished without the shedding of one drop of blood, save that of the malefactors who were executed by the Holy Brotherhood. No grandees were murdered, no princes were poisoned, not a royal oath was broken. If the results were astounding, the methods were scarcely less remarkable.[2]

[1] For an account of the manner in which this reviving industry was again crushed by unwise laws, see essay, "A Fight against Finery," in *The Year after the Armada*, and *Spain: its Greatness and Decay*, both by the present editor.—H.

[2] The principal authorities for the early years of the reign of Isabella in Castile are: A. Bernaldez, *Hist. de los reyes Catolicos*, of which an edition has been published as lately as 1870; the *Chronicles* of Pulgar and Lebrija or Nebrixa; the Latin History of Lucius Marineus, better known in the early translation into Castilian as *Cosas Memorables*. I have used the edition of 1539.

For the contemporary history of Aragon, Zurita, *Anales de Aragon* is, of course, the chief authority. I have necessarily consulted an immense number of minor or more modern works. Bergenroth and the Simancas Archives are of little use before 1480. But the sixth volume of the *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia de Madrid*, edited by Clemencin, is full of varied and most interesting information as regards the history of this reign, derived to a great extent from original sources.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION.

I.

The religious bigotry of the mediæval Spaniard is generally assumed as a fact beyond the scope of argument or question. Yet through the whole of the Middle Ages, from the death of Roderic to the birth of Isabella, no government in western Europe was less disposed to religious persecution than that of Aragon; no Christian sovereigns were less devoted to Rome than those of Castile. From the conversion of Reccared to the rout of the Guadalete—a single century of unchecked and humiliating decadence—the government of Spain had indeed been distinctly and deplorably intolerant; but from the advent of Taric to the appearance of Torquemada the religious independence and the religious toleration of kings and people compare favourably with those of any other country in Europe. A bitter jealousy of the foreigner, accentuated by the long continued presence of the Moor in the fairest province of the Peninsula, was ever a leading characteristic of the mediæval Castilian. But this jealousy was political and racial rather than religious; and for long years of Spanish history,[1] the interference of an Italian priest would have been nearly as much resented as that of a Moslem warrior—whose assistance might possibly have been welcome in a foray upon some Christian potentate.

And in no country or kingdom of mediæval Europe, not even in England, was a bolder stand made against inquisitors, and persecutors, and Popes than was made in mediæval Spain.

[1] From the singular moderation in the language of the protests of the Castilian clergy to the Cortes of Valladolid, in 1351, with regard to the desecration of the Sabbath by Jews and Moors, we may judge, says Mérimée, of the extent of the religious tolerance, and the absence of bigotry in Castile as late as the middle of the fourteenth century. See on this point generally, P. Mérimée, *Pèdre I.*, and pp. 80, 124, 136, 186, 193, 202, 332; and the *Ordenamento de Perlados*, art. 9.

The pious grant of Aragon, in the year 1134, by Alfonso the Battler to the Knights Templars, who were at that time the most revered of the great religious associations of Christendom and the most favoured by Rome, was treated by the Aragonese with contempt and derision. The popularity of so very independent a Christian as the Cid, and his universal acceptance as the national hero of Spain,[1] should make it plain at least that devotion to priests and Popes found no place in the ideal of a Castilian gentleman of the eleventh or twelfth century. The interference of Rome in so purely spiritual a matter as the substitution of a service book, was bitterly resented both in Aragon and in Castile towards the end of the twelfth century (in 1171). And although Hildebrand was at length suffered to have his own way at the altar in 1085, the pretensions of a no less powerful Pontiff to supreme authority in the State in 1203, led to almost as great an outburst of popular indignation as followed the "Papal Aggression" of 1850 in modern Protestant England. Peter II., indeed, was soon recalled to a sense of the independence that was expected of him by his people; and while France and England, and even Germany, were marching submissive to the mandate of an Italian Pontiff, the King of Aragon—a knight-errant of heresy—was followed by his little army of Spaniards, ready and willing to cross the Pyrenees to confront the legate of Innocent, and to do battle against the sacred legions of Rome.

A century later, when the destruction of a rich and noble confraternity had been decreed by a rapacious Pope,[2] and when English knights were being tortured by Papal inquisitors within sight of the palace of Westminster, the Papal Bull was treated with scant respect in Castile, and especially in Aragon, where the Templars, judged by independent tribunals, were acquitted of the charges of which they were accused.

The Bull of Clement was despatched to London at the same time that it was sent to Saragossa (November, 1307). And in England, ever proud and jealous of her freedom and independence of Rome, the Papal commands were obeyed as they certainly were not obeyed in Aragon. The inquisition was never popular in England; torture was forbidden by the law of the land as it was in Aragon; yet the tribunals of the Holy

[1] The legendary Cid of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was no whit more religious than the real Roderic of the eleventh century; in some ways even less so. *Cf. ante*, vol. i., chap. xix.

[2] See *Traitez concernant l'Histoire de France: la Condamnation des Templiers*, etc., etc., by Pierre Dupuy, *passim*.

Office sat in London and Lincoln and York; and by the reiterated commands of a French Pope,[1] the English knights were tortured ere they were condemned, and their great Order was destroyed in England. In Spain it was far different. A formal inquiry took place at Saragossa in November, 1312, not by the Papal inquisitors, but by a Council of Aragonese judges. After a careful hearing, the Templars were acquitted of all the charges that were brought against them, and declared innocent of all the crimes of which they had been so freely accused. The Castilian judges were as independent as those of Aragon, and after an investigation which was held at Salamanca in 1310, they arrived at a conclusion no less favourable to the Templars than the finding of the court of Saragossa. Yet the knights and their rich possessions in Spain were not exempted from the premeditated spoliation. The case was *avoked* by Clement to the Papal court of Avignon, and by his Bull, issued at Vienne in 1312, the Knights Templars of Aragon, of Castile, and of Portugal, formerly acquitted of the crimes that were laid to their charge, were included in the common destruction. Yet, if the Templars were destroyed, Spain at least was not humiliated.

The Spanish judges forbade all persons ecclesiastical to harass or even to speak evil of the knights in the future; and made liberal provision for the maintenance of every individual companion out of the revenues of the extinguished Order. Even in Aragon, where, for various reasons, the Papal influence was greater than it was in Castile, King James II. actually refused, when summoned by Clement. V., to order the Templars' property to be forfeited to the Pope. It was necessary to resort to a compromise. Clement sent a Brief (5th January, 1309) reciting that the property had been offered to him, but that he had decided that it should be transferred to the custody of the King of Aragon.[2] But if the commanderies and religious houses were thus necessarily broken up, the members of the Order were suffered to live in peace as individual knights. A great part of their estates and revenues in Aragon were devoted to the endowment of another Order of religious knighthood, that of Montesa,[3] a branch of the yet more famous Order of Calatrava. The Orders of Santiago and Alcantara, as well as the parent Order of Calatrava, were also largely endowed in the same way.

[1] See Wilkins, *Con. Mag. Brit.*, ii.; Rymer, *Fœdera*, iii.; Pierre Dupuy, *Condamnation des Templiers*, and H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, iii.. 260-307.

[2] See Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, vol. iii., pp. 311-313.

[3] See *ante*, vol. i., chap. xxiii.

Again, in 1440, when the inquisitors would have condemned Lorenzo Valla for his treatise on the *False Donation* of Constantine, Alfonso V. of Aragon was at once sufficiently enlightened and sufficiently bold to exercise his royal prerogative, as King of Naples, to put a stop to the prosecution. It is doubtful whether any other European potentate at that time would have dared, even if he had desired, thus to affront the ecclesiastical power in his dominions. In Castile, Rome had even less influence than in Aragon. The establishment in the thirteenth century of the independent kingdom of Granada, after the Christian occupation of Cordova and Seville by Saint Ferdinand, who himself entered into and maintained an honourable alliance with the Infidel, and the more or less peaceful relations that subsisted between the rival races for over two hundred years, all tended to toleration and liberal regard. Christian refugees, whether princes or peasants, were ever welcome at the court of the Moslem. Kings and knights vied with each other in the tourney or the bull fight. And if the Christians were more wont to accept than to grant hospitality, the bitter feelings that are engendered by active religious bigotry were almost entirely absent from the intercourse of either Moor or Castilian. Something of the spirit of Abdur Rahman and of Averroës lingered even in Christian Andalusia. The spirit of Torquemada lay dormant and unsuspected at sunny Seville. And from the fall of Cordova, in 1246, to the fall of Alhama, in 1482, the Moslem was not unkindly regarded in Castile.[1]

II.

It has been the great misfortune of Spain, both as regards her reputation and her prosperity, that in the matter of religious persecution, as in so many other ways, the country was somewhat later in its development than its neighbours. France and Germany and Italy passed, as it were, through their agony during

[1] Mezclaban muchas veces Cristianos y Musulmanes en estos espectaculos, *i.e.*, pasos de armas, or tourneys. Lafuente, ix., 62. For Lafuente's list of fighting bishops, see *ibid.*, ix., 66-70.

The old Castilian verse is apposite enough :—

Cavalliro granadino,
Aunque Moro, hijo d'algo.

It was not considered any disgrace, says Richard Ford, *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 94, for a Christian knight to become a Farfan, and serve under the banner of the Moors. Cf. Viardot, *Essai sur les Mores d'Espagne*, tom. ii., pp. 72-74.

three centuries of darkness and ignorance. It was reserved for unhappy Spain to light the fires of persecution at Seville and at Granada at the very time when other nations were opening wide the portals of knowledge, and thought was becoming free in France and Germany, in England and Italy and Holland, and even in Rome.

When an enlightened Europe was devoted to the collection of ancient MSS., the Primate of Spain was burning them by the tens of thousands in the public square of Granada. When the intelligent stranger was being welcomed in every other country of Christendom, the Queen of Castile was banishing every Moor from her dominions; when commerce was beginning to be considered the most important element in the prosperity of states, the Catholic sovereigns turned every man of business out of Spain.[1] And in subsequent generations, when religious Protestantism was asserting itself in every country, and the political rights of the weak were coming to be recognised in every commonwealth, Spain appeared as the champion of the most sanguinary Catholicism in the least Catholic of her provinces in northern Europe, and as the destroyer of millions of the gentlest of her own subject races in the new world.

From the establishment of the Inquisition to the destruction of the Spanish Armada, or perhaps to the defeat at Rocroy—a century and a half of boundless material wealth, of military power and glory—Spain did more to enslave the minds and bodies of men than has been done by all the other nations of Europe put together, since the birth of Luther. It is a pre-eminence of which Spanish zealots may possibly be proud, and from one point of view it may at least compel our pity, if not our admiration; for Spain poured out her own life blood in the struggle against the greater forces of the world. During the whole of the critical period of the Renaissance, when every European State was growing and expanding in the light of new learning and new methods—thinking, inquiring, seeking and finding—Spain was surely rivetting upon herself the chains of ignorance, with a fervour and fury no less remarkable than that which was urging on the reformers and discoverers of neighbouring countries. And thus, when after 150 years of misused and wasted opportunities, the famous Spanish infantry lost for ever its proud pre-eminence before the new methods and tactics of regenerate France,[2] Spain, reduced in a moment to a position of

[1] See Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, tom. ii., pp. 679-81.

[2] The battle of Rocroy was fought on the 19th of May, 1643.

political insignificance, found that while she had been squandering her energies and her treasure in fighting against Thought and against Knowledge at home and abroad, her rivals had passed her by in the race of International Life. She remained as an old-fashioned tyrant, odious if dreaded in the day of her power, merely contemptible when her power had passed away. To Spain, as to every other country in Europe, came her opportunity in the sixteenth century. She missed it, thanks to the vicious system of personal despotism introduced by her monarchs, and the opportunity never returned. "There are no birds," says Cervantes, "in last year's nest." And for nations as for individuals, as long as the world goes round, time tarrieth not, and the tide waits for none.

The energy of what may be called the spirit of national persecution in Europe at large would seem to have spent itself in the Crusades. And when it became necessary to rouse the spirit of fanatical savagery against Christian heretics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the infamous massacres in Languedoc, and the flagitious invasion of Catalonia in the time of Peter III. were invested by pitiless Pontiffs with the same romantic title. But no Spanish king or warrior was found in the ranks in Palestine. His own peculiar infidels were more than sufficient to occupy him nearer home; and, while the dealings of the Spaniard with the Moor were never marked by any of the savage ferocities that disgraced the annals of the Crusaders from Acre to Byzantium, a spirit of remorseless persecution seems to have lain dormant in the Spanish nature, ready to spring into ill-timed life and vigour, when the current of human activity in the rest of Europe was setting in a contrary direction; and when the foe of 800 years of contest, lay defenceless at the feet of triumphant Castile.

The fairest verdict that can be passed upon the Spanish persecution of the sixteenth century is that it was out of season; an abnormal growth, noxious, monstrous, self-destructive. But let no one suffer himself to believe that the great persecuting spirit of mediæval Europe had its home or its headquarters in Spain.[1]

[1] The work of the Inquisition throughout Europe is exhaustively summed up by Mr. H. C. Lea in his history, etc. (1888), to which the reader is referred as well for a detailed narrative as for an immense mass of references to original authorities on the subject. (It should be pointed out also that the spirit which gave rise and strength to the religious persecution of which Spain was the centre in the sixteenth century, was sedulously fostered by Charles V. and Philip II. with purely political objects. The Spaniards, although cruel and indifferent to suffering, were not

The massacres in Languedoc and in the Cevennes, the harryings and the slaughterings, the burnings, the dungeons and the chains, the tortures more dreadful than death itself, that were the portion of the Albigenses and the Cathari, the Waldenses, the Beguins, the Beggards, the Lollards, the Hussites, for over 200 years, should be studied by any one who would take upon himself to denounce the exceptional horrors of the Ecclesiastical Tribunal at Seville.[1]

From the rise of Hildebrand to the fall of Boniface, everywhere was the spirit of religious persecution encouraged by kings and by priests. The Emperor Frederick II., himself rather a freethinker than a zealot, procured his coronation as emperor at St. Peter's in November, 1220, by the issue of an edict which is memorable in the history of persecution; and as a part of the day's solemnities, Pope Honorius paused in the ineffable mystery of the Mass, to pronounce a curse in the name of the Almighty against all heresies and heretics, including all those rulers whose laws interfered with their extermination. The massacre of the Sicilian Vespers was provoked not only by French tyrants but by French inquisitors; and it was the coming of the Spaniards that brought relief at once from civil and from sacerdotal oppression. Sicily under the rule of Aragon was harassed to no serious extent by any ecclesiastical persecution or tyranny. In northern Aragon alone, of all the provinces of Spain, lying as it did within reach of French influences and the French frontier, the Inquisition existed for three centuries before the days of Ferdinand and Isabella. Yet even in northern Aragon the dreadful institution remained undeveloped and ineffective during the whole period of active persecution in Languedoc. We hear, indeed, of heretics, and especially suspected Hebrew converts, as being unmolested, and even welcomed in Spain, on their escape from the French inquisitors on the other side of the Pyrenees.[2] To pretend that Rome learned cruelty at Seville, or that the Spaniards of Aragon corrupted the inquisitors of Provence, is one of the strangest and most daring perversions of historic truth that is to

naturally an intolerant people, and the religious persecution arose not spontaneously from them, but was deliberately adopted as part of a political system by their rulers.—H.)

[1] See *Histoire des Hérésies depuis la naissance de Jésus Christ jusqu' à présent*, par M. Hermant. The work is in dictionary form, *avec un traité traduit du Latin d' A. de Castro* (Rouen, 1727), four vols., 12mo; and Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, ii., pp. 316-350, and 436-567.

[2] See Lea, i., 395-6, and authorities cited.

be found even among the ecclesiastical traditions of the fifteenth century. Yet it has ever been an agreeable task for French and Italian writers to call attention to religious intolerance and inquisitorial cruelties less dreadful in themselves, though more repulsive to an enlightened Europe and a new-born public opinion, than the forgotten horrors of their own ecclesiastical history. But the nation that may yet be reminded of Muret and Carcassonne, of the sack of Elne and the destruction of the Knights Templars, cannot afford to denounce the cruelty of the Spanish Dominicans, nor to blush for the religious avarice of the Catholic kings. The greed of Ferdinand was moderation when compared with the rapacity of French Philip.[1] The cruelty of Torquemada was mercy compared with the savagery of Arnauld. The pride of Ximenez was humility compared with the arrogance of Innocent. The worst Spaniard whose evil deeds have been written on the dark pages of the history of the fifteenth century was Pope of Rome; but even in the character of Alexander VI. we may look in vain for the savage pride of the Tuscan Hildebrand, or the fierce intolerance of the Roman Innocent, for the dark cruelty of the French Clement or the French John, of Urban of Naples, or of his rival Robert of Geneva.

Spain, indeed, independent and jealous of foreign interference in ecclesiastical as well as temporal matters, had little to do with Rome from the days of Atawulf to the days of Alfonso VI. And if Rome was not popular in mediæval Spain, Spain was most assuredly unpopular in mediæval Rome.

The virtual exclusion of Spanish ecclesiastics from the Papacy from the fourth to the fifteenth century, shows clearly enough how slender was the bond between the ecclesiastical capital and the greatest province of the empire. From the fourth to the fourteenth century no Spanish Churchman was enthroned in the Eternal City. And considering the nearness of the Peninsula to Italy—their common Latinity of origin and speech, and the close connection and great influence of Spain upon Rome in the great days of the empire, this exclusion is the more remarkable. The number of Spanish ecclesiastics,

[1] Philippe le Bel issued a secret and sudden order (21st January, 1306) to put under arrest all the Jews of France on the same day. Graetz, *Hist.* (ed. Lowy, tom. iv., p. 49). They were ordered to quit the country within one month, leaving behind them all their goods, and the debts that were owing to them. Whoever was found in France after the proscribed time was liable to the penalty of death.

The horrors of the exodus were scarcely less dreadful than those in Spain at the end of the fifteenth century; as to which, see *post*, chapter xliii.

moreover, previous to the fifteenth century, who received the minor honour of the Scarlet Hat was very small.

Between 1302 and 1370 only two Spaniards were raised to the cardinalate: Carrillo de Albornoz, Archbishop of Toledo, Papal Regent, distinguished by his military successes in Italy (1350); and Nicolas Roseti, Provincial of the Dominicans and Inquisitor General of Aragon (1356).

From the time of the Valencian Alfonso Borja or Borgia, afterwards Calixtus III., who received the Hat in 1444, the proportion of his countrymen in the sacred college was greatly increased; and in the latter half of the fifteenth century no less than twenty-two Spaniards were invested with the Purple: of whom two were Popes, and no less than seven Borgias.[1] But even at the end of the fifteenth century the connection between Spain and the Papacy was rather intimate than friendly; and if the Catholic kings made use of the Holy See for the oppression of their subjects, and the advancement of their political ends in Europe, the independence of Castile and the Castilians was ever asserted and maintained by them, in spite of the pretensions of the most masterful Popes at Rome.

The meagreness of the list of the Spanish saints is even more remarkable than the paucity of Popes and cardinals during the first fifteen centuries of our era. Among all the provincial martyrs of the first five centuries after the coming of St. Paul, the names of only thirty have been included in the Romish Calendar. And although between 585 and 690 twelve more Spaniards, including in that number five of the most distinguished Churchmen in the Christian world, SS. Hermengild, Leander, Isidore, Ildefonso and Julian, were added to the number of canonical saints; yet between 690 and 850 only four more were included among the official saints of Christendom. And although in the course of a single decade, from 850 to 860, no less than nineteen Castilian Christians sought and found death at the hand of the Moslem, and were rewarded by subsequent

[1] The family of *Borja* has not only given two Popes and a dozen cardinals to the Catholic Church, to say nothing of that many-sided sinner Cæsar Borgia, but a saint—Francisco, Duke of Gandia, born in 1500, and General of the Order of the Jesuits, who died in 1572. This latter-day St. Francis was not only the sole Borgia, but, as far as I know, the only *duke* who has attained the honour of canonisation. He is said to have attended Queen Juana *la loca* on her death-bed, and certified that she died at least sane and a good Catholic.

His Grace St. Francis de Borgia, fourth Duke of Gandia, is a very imposing title. See Ribadeneyra, *Vida de San Francisco de Borja* (Madrid, 1592), and *Heroyca Vida*, etc. (Madrid, 1726); and the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* S.D. 10th October; and Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, tom. ii., p. 682.

canonisation; yet in the long and wonder-working period, from the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the thirteenth century, the Spanish Hagiology is enriched by only thirty-seven names, of whom but three, St. Raymond Nonnatus (*ob.* 1240), St. Ferdinand the King, and St. Raymond of Peñafort, are remarkable in history or tradition. In the interval between Raymond of Peñafort, who died in 1275, and St. Vincent Ferrer, who died in 1415, a period of 140 years, Raymond Lull[1] alone attracts attention—rather from his learning than from his sanctity—among the half-dozen Spaniards whose claim to the honours of canonisation were deemed worthy of attention at Rome. But a comparison with the number of saints from other countries is at once more remarkable and more instructive than any partial or local record. It will surely surprise some of my readers to learn that, while the number of canonised Spaniards whose names are collected in the most trustworthy catalogues does not greatly exceed 100, England supplies nearly twice as many saints to the Christian Calendar; Italy nearly eight times as many; while France heads the list, pre-eminent over all other European nations, with a roll of 1700 names.[2]

[1] Raymond Lull, as may be remembered, was never actually canonised. See *ante*, vol. i., p. 310.

During the whole of the fifteenth century the total number of the canonised Spaniards is but two, of whom one is St. Diego, an obscure Franciscan; and the other, that most vigorous if not particularly saintly inquisitor, St. Pedro de Arbues.

[2] "France," that is France and Gaul.

My authority for these figures is the most complete and accurate *Trésor de Chronologie* of M. le Comte de Mas Latrie, a work of immense learning and value; one vol., folio (Paris, 1889).

CHAPTER XL.

THE INQUISITION.

I.

The story of the first establishment of the Inquisition in France, at the suggestion of the Spanish Dominic, has been told with that of Peter II. of Aragon. But although the inspired sub-prior of Osma was by birth and education a Castilian Spaniard, his work as inquisitor lay entirely north of the Pyrenees; so much so that he is not even included in the list of Spanish saints by so accurate a writer as M. de Mas Latrie, who assigns to him his place among those of France. The great founder of the Dominicans, no doubt, came from Castile, but his inquisitorial and persecuting spirit was personal rather than national, and the great mass of the Spaniards who were present in Languedoc in the beginning of the thirteenth century were not fighting against heresy but against sacerdotalism.[1]

The Inquisition, established in Italy by Honorius III. in 1231, and in France by St. Louis in 1233, was formally introduced into Spain by Gregory IX. in 1235, by a rescript of 30th April, addressed to Mongriu, Archbishop-Administrator of Tarragona, confirming and explaining previous Briefs and Bulls upon the subject of the repression of heresy; and prescribing the issue of certain instructions which had been prepared at the desire of His Holiness by a Spanish saint, the Dominican Raymond of Peñafort. From this time forward, Bulls on the subject of the Inquisition into heresy were frequently issued; and the followers of Dominic were ever the trusted agents of the Holy See.

Raymond the inquisitor was born in 1175, at Peñafort, an ancient castle in Catalonia, afterwards converted, in the fifteenth century, into a Dominican monastery. At the age of twenty he

[1] Under Peter II. of Aragon, fighting against the Papal armies, and on the side of religious liberty.

was already professor of philosophy at the University of Barcelona, and ten years later he proceeded to Bologna, and took the degree of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law. In 1222 he became a brother of the Order of St. Dominic. In 1235 he collected and edited the scattered decrees of Popes and Councils from the time of Gratian (1150) in five books. Immediately after their publication, in 1235, he was chosen to be Archbishop of Tarragona, but he does not appear to have been consecrated, and he certainly never assumed the title of the office. In 1237 he was appointed General of the Order of St. Dominic; but he resigned this charge also in 1239, and travelled about the world preaching orthodoxy and working miracles. On his return to Spain he is said to have sailed from Majorca to Barcelona on his cloak, which served him for both boat and sail, and after a long period of service as inquisitor in Aragon and Catalonia, he died in 1275, at the ripe old age of 100 years.

During the whole of the thirteenth century the kings of Aragon appear to have extended a certain amount of protection to the Dominican Inquisitors of the Faith. James I., though he cut out the tongue of an impertinent bishop, was compelled to prohibit the reading of the Limousin Bible in his dominions. James II. not only ordered all *heretics* to quit the kingdom, but he published a Royal Ordinance, of 22nd April, 1292, in which he enjoined the civil judges to afford active assistance "to all Dominican Apostolic Inquisitors," and to execute whatever judgments these monks should pronounce. Yet we constantly read of the hatred inspired by these apostolic Dominicans in the kingdom of Aragon; and, although their work was carried out on a very small scale and in a very gentle manner as compared with the action of the Inquisition of later times, a considerable number of inquisitors themselves fell victims to the fury of the people; and if a heretic was occasionally burned, a monk was frequently murdered. The action of these early brothers of the Holy Office, moreover, was almost entirely confined to Aragon and north Catalonia; and although it appears that the Inquisition was at least nominally established in Castile in the time of St. Ferdinand, it is clear that its operations were few and uncertain. Discountenanced by Alfonso X. after the death of his father, it gradually dwindled away, and at the end of the fourteenth century it had entirely ceased to exist.

The burning of the books of the celebrated Henry of Villena may possibly have been the work of the Holy Office. But it is more probable that it was directed by the local Bishop of Cuenca.

Human beings at all events were not burned, nor even tortured by any authorised friars in Castile. And when, as late as 1479, Pedro de Osma was visited with censure ecclesiastical for certain heretical doctrines or opinions that were to be found in his works, it was the martial Alfonso de Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo, unassisted by any Dominican or inquisitor, that heard his accusation and his defence, and pronounced his easy sentence.

Without pursuing any further, therefore, the vexed question of the theoretical establishment of the Inquisition in Castile, it may be taken that although the Holy Office exercised its functions of frequent inquiry and occasional punishment in Aragon from the middle of the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century, working at what may be called a very low pressure, the Inquisition, as we commonly understand the word, had no practical existence in Spain, to the south of Tarragona and Lerida, until the time of Isabella and Ferdinand.

The first suggestion of the serious introduction of the Tribunal of the Holy Office into Castile at the end of the fifteenth century, is said to have come from Sicily. An Italian friar bearing the suggestive name of dei Barberi, Inquisitor-General at Messina, paid a visit to his sovereign Ferdinand at Seville in 1477, in order to procure the confirmation of a privilege accorded to the Sicilian Dominicans by the Emperor Frederic II., in 1233, by virtue of which the inquisitors entered into possession of one-third of the goods of the heretic whom they condemned. This dangerous charter was confirmed in due course by Ferdinand on the 2nd of September, 1477, and by Isabella on the 18th of October; and very little argument was required on the part of the gratified envoy to convince his sovereign of the various temporal and spiritual advantages that would follow the introduction of the tribunal that had so long existed in an undeveloped form in Sicily and in Aragon, into the dominions of his pious consort, Isabella of Castile.

Among the most active supporters of the proposal was Niccolo Franco, the Papal Nuncio at the Spanish court; and Friar Alfonso de Ojeda, the Dominican Prior of St. Paul's at Seville, was no less active in his exertions. The thing found favour with Ferdinand, and was, at least, not opposed by Isabella. But it was not adopted without much consideration and discussion. The Castilians were already becoming somewhat jealous of the wealth of the Jews, somewhat envious of the prosperity of the Moors, somewhat suspicious of the faith of the New Christians. Thus the keen-sighted Ferdinand judged—some-

what too hastily, indeed—that if the new engine of ecclesiastical tyranny and royal rapine were to be directed in the first instance only against these classes of the community, it might even be popular in Christian Spain: and that while the supervision of recent converts would be effective and edifying, the rich booty that would certainly follow the condemnation of wealthy heretics would be eminently profitable to the cause of royalty as well as of religion in Castile.[1]

Isabella, if she at first hesitated, was easily convinced. She was a good Catholic, a sympathetic consort, a strict ruler. Torquemada, moreover, held sway in the royal closet; and the queen lost no time in sending instructions to her ambassador at the court of Rome to solicit the favour of a Bull establishing a tribunal or tribunals of the most Holy Inquisition in her kingdom of Castile. The Bull was issued on the 1st of November, 1478; but Isabella, who was at the time asserting the independence of her royal jurisdiction in Castile against the pretensions of the Holy See, suspended the establishment of the new ecclesiastical courts, and contented herself with entrusting Cardinal Mendoza with the preparation of a Catechism for the use of the New Christians, and enjoining the clergy throughout the country to be zealous in the maintenance of a high standard of orthodoxy among the converted Moslems and Jews.

The publication of a foolish attack upon the administration of Ferdinand and Isabella, by a still more foolish Hebrew zealot, in 1480, shows at least that free speech was possible in Castile; and a series of ordinances directed against the Jews by the celebrated Cortes of Toledo in the same year, although arbitrary and oppressive, was aimed rather at relieving the Christians from the competition of dangerous rivals in civil life, than at the conversion of heretics of any race or nation. The Jews were prohibited from following the callings in which they specially excelled the Christians, from acting as physicians, surgeons, and even merchants; they were ordered to wear a distinctive dress, to conform to irksome regulations, and to live apart from the Christian community in special quarters of the cities. But no suggestion was made that they should abandon their own religion; still less that they should quit their adopted country.

In the middle of the year 1480 there was as yet no Court of the Holy Inquisition established in Spain. At length, pressed by the Papal Nuncio, by the Dominicans, by her confessor, and

[1] See *Calendar* (Spain), vol. i., Introduction, pp. 41, 42.

most of all by her husband, Isabella gave her consent; two Dominicans received the royal authority at Medina del Campo (17th September, 1480) to act as inquisitors; and their commission was opened at Seville on the 2nd of January, 1481.[1]

The respective shares of Ferdinand and Isabella in the establishment and working of the Inquisition in Spain have of late years been a matter of frequent controversy. The gentle queen, who would not even attend a bull fight unless the horns of the beast were tipped with leather, is always spoken of by her modern admirers as having been incapable of promoting the systematic torture of her subjects. But Bergenroth very truly remarks that there is no shadow of evidence in any contemporary document that the queen was less devoted to the work of the Inquisition than her less attractive consort. For close upon 300 years after her death, her zeal in the cause of the persecution of Jews and heretics has been generally considered in Spain to be nothing less than an honour, and one by no means to be abated by any plea of coverture.

The more modern Spanish writers, no doubt, are somewhat embarrassed in their desire to apportion the praise or the blame between Isabella and the contemporary Popes for their respective shares in the establishment and the maintenance of the Spanish Inquisition. As the institution, however good or however evil, could clearly not have established itself, these perplexed apologists are fain to point out that, as on the one hand, it owed its origin to the Bull of Sixtus IV., and as Isabella resisted its introduction for over two years after Rome had issued its mandate, the queen at least is in no way responsible for its existence in Spain; while on the other hand, it is roundly asserted that the Bull was obtained from Rome by some fraudulent misrepresentations of the Castilian court; that successive Popes disapproved of the institution, and sought to reform if they could not abolish it; that it was Spanish and not Romish in all its ways; political and not religious in its objects, and only accidentally presided over by ecclesiastics.[2] Yet as, according to the orthodox writers, its

[1] Llorente, *Histoire de l'Inquisition*, i., ch. v., tit. 18.

[2] Hefele, 330-334; *ibid.*, 336-343. (The truth appears to lie between the two extremes. The Inquisition at its first establishment in Castile under Isabella was an apostolic and ecclesiastical institution, approved of in principle by Rome, though doubtless also Ferdinand thought that the restriction of the rights of the Jews and Moriscos—by the former of whom, by the way, in Aragon especially, he was greatly served—would be popular and profitable. But under Charles V. and Philip II. the Inquisition changed its character and behind its ecclesiastical mask became a

operation was most salutary, its existence most necessary; and as its methods are declared to have been more gentle and its decrees more just than those of any other tribunal, it is hard to see why the court of Rome should have regarded it with ill-favour, and why the blind admirers of Isabella should be at the pains to assert that it is the king and not the queen who must be held responsible for its establishment within their dominions in Spain.[1]

By whomsoever established or introduced into fifteenth century Spain, the new ecclesiastical tribunal at first found no favour in the sight of gentle or simple outside the convent and the palace. The New Christians fled from Seville to the neighbouring country, where they were protected by the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the Marquis of Cadiz, and the Count of Arcos; and a special and minatory edict of the king was required (27th December, 1480) before the orthodox Andalusians would allow the new judges to hold their court. But once fairly established, the *Inquisitors* gave abundant and striking proofs of zeal and efficiency. On the 2nd of January, 1481, the court sat for the first time in the Dominican Convent of St. Peter and St. Paul at Seville. On the 6th of January six heretics had been tried, condemned and burnt alive; and by the end of October 300 New Christians had perished by fire in the city of Seville alone, while within the narrow limits of the ecclesiastical province, over 2000 innocent persons had suffered death at the stake as heretics.

The whole of Spain was startled by the flames of the *Quemadero*. Deputations from every district, petitioning against the new tribunal, waited upon the king and queen. Many even among the Spanish ecclesiastics protested in the strongest terms

civil instrument. With each fresh step to bring it more under the control of the monarch, Rome became more jealous of it, and for two centuries kings of Spain were constantly at issue with the Papacy on the subject.—H.)

[1] It is worthy of note that so modern and so accomplished a Spanish writer as Señor Menendez Pelayo can be found not only to minimise the horrors of the Inquisition, but actually to ridicule the sufferings of those who fell into its clutches; *Gente indocta todos! Ciencia Española*, tom. ii., pp. 59-67. He sums up his chapter by saying, *Ningun hombre de merito cientifico fué quemado por la Inquisicion.* Nor, according to this modern optimist, were any scientific or philosophical works burned, nor even forbidden!

Not only in the *Ciencia Española* but in the *Heterodoxes Españoles* (ii., 690-697) does Señor Menendez Pelayo maintain that learning and learned men were never persecuted by the Inquisition in Spain. And the names that he cites and the facts that he adduces are worthy of all attention. The author, however, not only admits but defends the burning of books, even of translations of the Holy Scriptures (*op. cit.*, ii., 703-4); and his account of the origin and progress of the *Index Expurgatorius* is most interesting and suggestive (*id.*, 704-715).

against the new institution. Ferdinand and Isabella were unmoved. They dismissed the deputations with fair words; and sent secret instructions to the governors of the provinces and to the other local authorities to protect and support the new tribunals by every means in their power, threatening them with condign punishment in case of failure to carry out their wishes, and promising them rich rewards in case of their loyalty and success. Yet in spite of all these precautions the inquisitors were hardly able to enter upon their offices in Castile. They were hunted out of many towns by the population; and their lives were only saved by the active interference of the queen's officers.[1]

This critical state of things was rendered all the more dangerous by the opposition against the Inquisition having extended to Rome itself. The Pope modified the Bull which he had given, deposed the most cruel among the inquisitors, and ordered that an appeal to Rome should in all cases be permitted. Ferdinand responded by sending the Pope a minatory letter. The Pope was intimidated. On the 3rd of August, 1483, he wrote that he intended to reconsider his last resolution in favour of the heretics, and until then he would leave the matter in suspense.[2]

Suspense, under the circumstances, was equivalent to the victory of the Catholic kings; and at length, in August, 1483, the Inquisition was established in Spain as a permanent tribunal. Tomas de Torquemada was appointed Inquisitor-General of both Castile and Aragon. Subordinate tribunals were constituted; new and more stringent regulations were made; the victims smoked from day to day on the great stone altar of the *Quemadero*.[3]

[1] We do not hear of actual violence resulting in death, as in the case of the earlier Inquisition in Aragon. The *Hermandad* no doubt protected the new ecclesiastical judges. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. i., pp. 43, 44.

The number of the victims was so great and increased so rapidly that the *alcalde* of Seville was compelled to construct, in an open space known as the *Tablada*, near the city, a permanent platform of masonry, with gigantic statues of the prophets at each corner, known as "the place of burning" or the *Quemadero*. (*Cf.* Llorente, i., v., art. 4); and at the same time the judgment seat was transferred to an old Moorish castle, the Fortaleza, in the suburb of *Triana*, where the court was held until 1626.

[2] *Calendar* (Spain), vol. i., Introduction, pp. 44, 45.

[3] Torquemada's appointment as Inquisitor, by the Pope and by the queen is dated only 2nd August, 1483: and that of Inquisitor-General of Aragon, 17th October, 1483. He was invested with even more extended powers in the Bull of 11th February, 1486. An assembly was held at Seville in the autumn of 1484, when the first laws or instructions of the Holy Office were made public in Spain.

II.

The life of Tomas de Torquemada is the history of contemporary Spain. Born of a noble family, already distinguished in the Church by the reputation of the cardinal his uncle, Tomas early assumed the habit of a Dominican, and was in course of time appointed prior of an important monastery at Segovia, and confessor to the young Princess Isabella. His influence upon that royal lady was naturally great; his piety pleased her; his austerity affected her; and his powerful will directed, if it could not subdue, a will as powerful as his own. Brought up far away from a court whose frivolities had no charm for her, and where, under any circumstances, she would have been considered as a rival if not a pretender, the counsels of her confessor, both sacred and secular, were the most authoritative that she could expect to obtain. It has been constantly asserted that the friar obtained from the princess a promise that, in the event of her elevation to the throne of Castile, she would devote herself to the destruction of heretics and the increase of the power of the Church.[1] Such a promise would have been but one of many which such a confessor would have obtained from such a penitent, and would have been but the natural result of his teaching. Nor is it surprising that in the intrigues that preceded the death of Henry IV., and the War of Succession that immediately followed it, the whole influence of the priesthood should have been cast on the side of Isabella and against her niece Joanna. For ten years, says the biographer of his Order,[2] the skilful hand of Torquemada cultivated the intellect of Isabella; and in due course the propitious marriage with Ferdinand of Aragon, far from removing his pupil from his sacerdotal influence, brought him a new and equally illustrious penitent. Torquemada became the confessor of the king as well as of the queen.

If the establishment of the Inquisition was the fulfilment of Isabella's vow, and the realisation of the aspirations of her tutor, his appointment as Inquisitor-General, although it necessitated the choice of another confessor, did not by any means withdraw him from his old sphere of influence. He ceased not to preach the destruction of the Moslem, even as he was employed about the destruction of the Jew; and if Isabella was the active patroness of the war in Granada, there was a darker spirit

[1] Fléchier, *Histoire du Cardinal Ximenes*, lib. ii.

[2] *Hist. des Dominicains illustres*, par Touron, iii., 545.

behind the throne, ever preaching the sacred duty of the slaughter of the infidel and the heretic of every race and nation.[1]

Torquemada was at once a politician and an enthusiast; rigid, austere, uncompromising; unbounded in his ambition, yet content to sacrifice himself to the cause that made him what he was. His moral superiority to the Innocents and Alexanders at Rome, his intellectual superiority to the Carrillos and the fighting bishops of Spain, gave him that enormous influence over both queen and king, which his consuming bigotry and his relentless tenacity of purpose induced him to use with such dreadful effect. Aggressive even in his profession of humility, Torquemada was insolent, not only to his unhappy victims, but to his colleagues, to his sovereigns, to his Holy Father at Rome.[2] He was, perhaps, the only man in Europe who was more masterful than Isabella, more bloodthirsty than Alexander; and he was able to impose his own will on both Queen and Pope. Rejecting in his proud humility every offer of the mitre, he asserted and maintained his ecclesiastical supremacy even over the Primate of Spain. Attended by a bodyguard of noble youths who were glad to secure at once the favour of the queen and immunity from ecclesiastical censure by assuming the habit of the *Familiars* of the Holy Office, the great destroyer lived in daily dread of the hand of the assassin.

Fifty horsemen and 200 foot guards always attended him. Nor was it deemed inconsistent with the purity of his own religious faith that he should carry about with him a talisman, in the shape of the horn of some strange animal, invested with the mysterious power of preventing the action of poison.[3]

[1] Torquemada's immediate successor in 1484 was another Dominican, Diego Deza, whose place was soon afterwards taken by Father Ferdinand Talavera, who acted as confessor to the queen until his appointment as Archbishop of Granada in 1492, when he was succeeded in the royal closet by Ximenez. See *Hist. des Dominicains illustres*, iii., 562.

[2] Bull of 25th September, 1487. Llorente i., chap. viii., art. 2.

[3] Prescott, following Llorente, i., viii., 2 and 3, says "a reputed unicorn's horn," which is not very critical. The virtue of a charm scarcely consists in the authenticity of its origin; yet the bone of a saint would have seemed more appropriate to so orthodox a personage, than the horn, even of a rhinoceros.

The inquisitor's less distinguished cousin Juan, more commonly known by the Latinised name of Turrecremata, just as the Valencian Borjas are known by the Italian name of Borgia, was also a Dominican (born 1388, died 1468). Despatched as Papal envoy to the Council of Bâle in 1431, he was distinguished by his zeal against John Huss. He was created a cardinal in 1439 on the occasion of a mission to Charles VII. of France and the negotiation of a peace with England.

On the death of Torquemada in September, 1498, Don Diego Deza was promoted to the office of Inquisitor-General of Spain. Yet the activity of the ecclesiastical tribunal[1] was rather increased than diminished by the change of masters,[2] and an attempt was made soon afterwards to extend its operations to Naples. But Gonsalvo de Cordova, who was then acting as viceroy, took upon himself to disregard not only the demands of the inquisitors, but the orders of Ferdinand (30th June, 1504), and to postpone the introduction of the new tribunal into the country that he so wisely and so liberally governed. After the recall of his great representative, some six years later, Ferdinand himself made another attempt to establish the hated tribunal in Italy, in 1510. But even Ferdinand did not prevail; and Naples[3] retained the happy immunity which it owed to the *Great Captain.*

If no error is more gross than to suppose that the establishment of the Inquisition was due to popular feeling in Spain, it is almost equally false to assert that it was the work of the contemporary Popes. Rome was bad enough at the end of the fifteenth century; but her vast load of wickedness need not be increased by the burden of sins that are not her own. The everlasting shame of the Spanish Inquisition is that of the Catholic kings. It is not difficult to understand why the poor and rapacious Ferdinand of Aragon should welcome the establishment of an instrument of extortion which placed at his disposal the accumulated savings of the richest citizens of Castile. It is yet easier to comprehend that Isabella, who was not of a temper to brook resistance to authority in Church or State, should have consented to what her husband so earnestly desired. The queen, moreover, was at least sincerely religious, after the fashion of the day; and was constrained to follow the dictates of her confessor in matters judged by him to be within his spiritual jurisdiction, even while she was, as a civil ruler, withstanding the Pope himself on matters of temporal sovereignty. It is the height of folly to brand Isabella as a hypocrite, because we are unable to follow the workings of a mediæval mind, or to

[1] See, for example, the ordinance of 17th June, 1500; and the ordinance of 15th November, 1504.

[2] The Inquisition was imposed upon Sicily in 1500. The people, after having long refused obedience to the royal ordinances, rose in open rebellion against the Holy Office in 1506. Yet on the accession of Charles V. the Sicilians were forced to submit. Llorente, i., chap. x., art. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*

appreciate the curious religious temper—by no means confined to the men and women of the fifteenth century—that can permit or compel the same person to be devoted to Popery and to be at war with the Pope, and find in the punctilious observance of ceremonial duty, excuse or encouragement for the gratification of any vice, and the commission of any crime. But that the nobility and people of Castile should have permitted the crown to impose upon them a foreign and an ecclesiastical despotism, is at first sight much harder to understand. No one reason, but an unhappy combination of causes may perhaps be found to explain it.

The influence of the queen was great. Respected as well as feared by the nobles, she was long admired and beloved by the mass of the people.[1] The great success of her administration, which was apparent even by the end of 1480; her repression of the nobility; her studied respect for the Cortes; all these things predisposed the Castilians, who had so long suffered under weak and unworthy sovereigns, to trust themselves, not only to the justice, but to the wisdom of the queen. The influence of the clergy, if not so great as it was in France or Italy, was no doubt considerable, and, as a rule, though not always, it was cast on the side of the Inquisition. Last and most unhappy reason of all, the nobility and the people were divided; and, if not actually hostile, were at least ever at variance in Castile.

The first efforts of the new tribunal, too, were directed either against the converted Jews, of whose prosperity the Christians were already jealous, and for whose interested tergiversations no one could feel any respect; or against the more or less converted Moslems, towards whom their neighbours still maintained a certain hereditary antipathy. The New Christians alone were to be haled before the new tribunal. The Old Christians might trust in the queen, if not in their own irreproachable lineage, to protect them from hurt or harm.

The number of subordinate or subsidiary tribunals of the Holy Office was at first only four; established at Seville, Cordova, Jaen and Ciudad Real. The number was gradually increased,

[1] Certainly in 1480, possibly not five-and-twenty years later. From curious criminal proceedings instituted against the Corregidor of Medina del Campo, we learn that that high judicial authority had not hesitated to declare that the soul of Isabella had gone direct to hell for her cruel oppression of her subjects, and that King Ferdinand was a thief and a robber, and that all the people round Medina and Valladolid, where the queen was best known, had formed the same judgment of her. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), Supplement to i. and ii. (1868), p. 27.

during the reign of the Catholic kings, to thirteen; and over all these Ferdinand erected, in 1483, a court of supervision under the name of the *Council of the Supreme*, consisting of the Grand Inquisitor as President, and three other subordinate ecclesiastics, well disposed to the crown, and ready to guard the royal interests in confiscated property.[1]

One of the first duties of this tremendous Council was the preparation of a code of rules or instructions, based upon the Inquisitor's Manual of Eymeric, which had been promulgated in Aragon in the fourteenth century.[2] The new work was promptly and thoroughly done; and twenty-eight comprehensive sections left but little to be provided for in the future.

The prosecution of unorthodox Spanish bishops by Torquemada on the ground of the supposed backslidings of their respective fathers is sufficiently characteristic of the methods of the Inquisition to be worthy of a passing notice. Davila, Bishop of Segovia, and Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra, were the sons of Jews who had been converted and baptised by St. Vincent Ferrer. No suspicion existed as to the orthodoxy of the prelates, both of whom were men distinguished for their learning and their piety. But it was suggested that their fathers had relapsed into Judaism before they died. They had each, indeed, left considerable fortunes behind them: and it was sought to exhume and burn their mortal remains, and to declare the property—long in the enjoyment of their heirs and successors—forfeited to the crown; and, in spite of a Brief of Innocent VIII., of the 25th of September, 1487, the attempt was made by the Spanish inquisitors. Both prelates sought refuge and protection by personal recourse to Rome (1490). Bishop Davila, in spite of the urgent remonstrances of Isabella herself,

[1] Zurita, *Anales*, iv., 324. Riol, *Informe*, in Semanario Erudito, iii., 156; Bull of 2nd August, 1483; Brief of 17th October, 1483; Brief of 11th February, 1486.

As to the conflicts between the Grand Inquisitor Torquemada and the Puisne members of this supreme court, see Llorente, i., chap. vi., art. 1. (A supreme and final struggle took place between the Inquisitor-General and the other members of the Council, on the subject of the condemnation of Father Diaz, the confessor of Charles II., at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. See essay, "The exorcism of Charles the Bewitched," in *The Year after the Armada*, etc., by the present editor.—H.)

[2] Lafuente, ix., 236. The *Directorium* of Nicolas Eymeric was prepared and promulgated about 1376, and was the authoritative text-book for the use of inquisitors until the issue of Torquemada's *Instructions* in 1483-4. Upon the invention of printing, the work of Eymeric was one of the first books printed at Barcelona. And it was republished at Rome, with notes and commentaries, in 1558, and again under the authority of Gregory XIII., in 1578. A translation into French of this work was published at Lisbon in 1762 by André Morellet.

ultimately secured the protection of Alexander VI., and was invested with additional dignities and honours. Bishop Aranda was less fortunate. He was stripped of his office and possessions, and died a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo in 1497.[1]

It was not only living or dying heretics who paid the penalty of their unsound opinions. Men long dead, if they were represented by rich descendants, were cited before the tribunal, judged, condemned, and the lands and goods that had descended to their heirs, passed into the coffers of the Catholic kings.[2] The scandal was so great that Isabella actually wrote to the Bishop of Segovia to defend herself against an accusation that no one had ever presumed to formulate. "I have," said the queen, "caused great calamities, I have depopulated towns and provinces and kingdoms, for the love of Christ and of His Holy Mother, but I have never touched a maravedi of confiscated property; and I have employed the money in educating and dowering the children of the condemned."[3] This strange apology, which seems to have to some extent imposed upon Prescott, is shown by more recent examination of the State papers to be a most deliberate and daring falsehood, and would go far to justify the suggestion of Bergenroth that if Ferdinand never scrupled to tell direct untruths and make false promises whenever he thought it expedient, Queen Isabella excelled her husband in "disregard of veracity".[4]

III.

Nothing can show more clearly the true nature and dominion of the Spanish Inquisition than the sordid sacerdotal shuffling

[1] He had dug up the bones of his father, his mother, and his grandmother before proceeding to Rome, lest their graves should be desecrated by the familiars of the Holy Office. For the queen's violent letter of remonstrance to Alexander VI. as to receiving the bishop, see *Calendar*, etc. (Spain), i., Introduc., 45.

[2] Lafuente, ix., 233.

[3] *Ar. Gen. de la Cor. de Arag, Barcelona, Reg. Varia*, ii., vol. 3684, f. 33, v.; and 3686, f. 105. *Calendar*, etc., i., 44-46.

[4] *Calendar*, i., 37. As to the way in which the queen took possession of all the confiscated goods, see *ibid.*, p. 45, 46, and original documents there cited.

As to the enormous revenue derived from these confiscations by the Inquisition, which constituted a regular income for the royal exchequer, see von Ranke, *The Ottoman and Spanish Empires in the XVI. and XVII. Centuries* (trans. Kelly), 1843, pp. 61, 62. The Inquisitors, according to Ranke, were royal as well as ecclesiastical officers, and the historian cites an instance of a royal visitation from La Nuza, *Hist. de Aragon*, ii., p. 111. It was, no doubt, the deadly combination of royal rapacity and ecclesiastical intolerance that made the Inquisition at once so powerful and so noxious in Spain.

between Seville and Rome and Valladolid that is found in the annals of the Holy Office during the first fifteen years of its existence. An appeal to Rome against the judgment of the inquisitors, if accompanied by a sufficient sum of money, was never rejected. Nay more, direct exemption from the jurisdiction of the dreaded tribunal was granted to every one who could afford to pay for it.[1] The poor heretic could never hope to escape the *Quemadero;* but, owing partly to the jealousy and partly to the covetousness of the Popes, the rich man had always a chance for his life; though the cause of the solvent suspect was no doubt, as far as possible, judged in Spain, before he had time to make a remittance to Rome.

The inquisitors, indeed, bitterly complained of the extent to which this venal protection was extended by the Popes; and Ferdinand, who saw the riches of his victims thus withdrawn from the scope of his own rapacity, not only supported the remonstrances of his judges by more than one minatory letter to His Holiness at Rome,[2] but he promulgated an ordinance that any person, lay or ecclesiastical, who should make use of a Papal indulgence to defeat the jurisdiction of the Holy Office should be summarily put to death; and all his goods confiscated to the crown.[3] Sixtus IV., nevertheless, and after him Innocent VIII., continued to grant dispensations to those who sought them at Rome; but Innocent made the best of the situation by informing the Catholic kings and the inquisitors in Spain that they might treat his Bulls and Briefs as of no effect as regards the bodies or goods of the purchasers, being applicable merely as regards their immortal souls. By this theological fiction, the Vatican continued to reap a rich harvest by the sale of Bulls, while the purchasers, on returning to Spain, were burnt by the Holy Office, and their remaining goods acquired by the king and queen.

Yet at Rome the rigours of the Spanish Inquisition met with no approval; and in 1490 Innocent VIII. determined to send a legate to Spain to inquire into the proceedings of the

[1] La cour de Rome (says Llorente) ne montra pas moins d'inconséquence sur l'article des absolutions particulières pour le crime d'apostasie. Personne ne se présenta avec son argent á la Pénitencerie apostolique, sans obtenir l'absolution qu'il venait solliciter, ou une commission pour être absous ailleurs; elle défendait, en l'accordant, d'inquiéter celui qui l'avait obtenue. *Histoire Critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, vol. i., cap. vii., art. 3.

[2] *Arch. Gen. de Aragon, Barcelona, Reg.*, vol. 3684, f. 7.

[3] See *Arch. Gen., ubi supra*, f. 33.

Holy Office. Isabella did all in her power to prevent it. Compelled to employ corruption on a large scale, larger even, as she declared, than was at all agreeable to herself, to check so dangerous an investigation at the outset, the queen was at length successful. The Pope was bribed to send a facile legate. The legate was bribed to make a vain inquiry. The Inquisition continued its work as before. And Isabella, at her earnest request, was specifically absolved from the sin of simony. The conscience of a virtuous and intelligent lady who, after purchasing from the representative of God on earth the right and licence to continue to torture and rob her own subjects, could derive solid comfort from the divine pardon of Giambattista Cibo for her simoniacal transgression in offering him money, must indeed have been strangely tempered.[1]

Yet when Dr. Hefele, in his study, with all these facts before him, can gravely write of *l'indulgence paternelle avec laquelle le Saint Siège absolvait en secret les hérétiques repentants qui s'adressaient à lui*, the mental and moral temper of a German professor at Tübingen may appear to us even more extraordinary.[2]

In 1492 Innocent VIII. was succeeded by Alexander VI. New bickerings arose between the court of Castile and the court of Rome. But the Spanish sovereigns once more triumphed over infallibility. Roderic Borgia, although infamous in his private life, was not more corrupt than his predecessors and contemporaries; but it was hardly to be supposed that he would put an end to the sale of the dispensations which were granted under ever varying titles so as to baffle discovery and remonstrance in Spain. Yet even Alexander VI. had to give way to Isabella and Ferdinand; and after five years of parley and procrastination, the Pope, in answer to the constantly renewed remonstrances of the king and queen, on the subject of his interference with their profits by his surreptitious indulgences to their Spanish subjects, was fain to grant all their requests (Brief of the 23rd of August, 1497), and to declare all the absolutions and dispensations that he or his predecessors had ever issued *ad hoc*, to be absolutely null and void.[3]

[1] *Arch. Gen. de Aragon, Reg. Var.* ii., *Ferd. II.*, vol. 3686, ff. 111, 112.

[2] See Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, p. 293.

[3] See Llorente, i., vii., iii. (20). The chapter is full of authentic details of the various Bulls and counter Bulls, dispensations and revocations, secret absolutions and secret sentences from 1484 to 1502.

IV.

If the Holy Office had existed in Aragon in an undeveloped state from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and if it was actually introduced into Castile at the suggestion of an inquisitor of the Aragonese island of Sicily, the old independence of the inhabitants once more asserted itself, when the time arrived for the introduction of the brand new Castilian tribunal into the old kingdom that is watered by the Ebro. Saragossa, indeed, may be nearer to Rome than Toledo; but the Aragonese and the Catalan have ever been less submissive than their brother or cousin in Castile; less obedient to authority; more impatient of royal and ecclesiastical oppression. Yet Aragon, which had defied Innocent at Muret, and vanquished Martin at Gerona, was no match for the inquisitors of Ferdinand the Catholic.[1] The Inquisition, as we have seen, had once before been established in Aragon; but in one most important particular the new institution differed from the old. In former days, even in the rare cases when the heretic paid the penalty of his heterodoxy with his life, his property passed to his heirs. The ecclesiastical tribunal of Ferdinand was not only more efficient in the matter of burning or otherwise disposing of accused persons; but the property of all doubtful Catholics, even of those who were graciously permitted to live after their trial, was absolutely forfeit to the crown. And the number of rich men, not only converted Jews but prosperous Christians, whose orthodoxy failed to come up to the new standard, was even in those days considered remarkable.

Ferdinand at all times hated popular assemblies. He spent the greater part of his time in Castile; and he saw as little as possible of the people of Aragon. But in April, 1484, he summoned a Cortes at Saragossa, and decreed by royal ordinance the establishment of the new tribunal. The old constitutional spirit of the Aragonese seems to have evaporated; and a degenerate justiciary was found to swear to support the jurisdiction of the inquisitors. Yet envoys and delegates of the Commons of Aragon were despatched to Castile, whither Ferdinand had

[1] Although in later times the Aragonese were for ever at issue with the Inquisition, and struggling against it when it seemed to trench on their liberties. In 1591, at the time of the Perez rising, they sacked the Inquisition buildings, released the prisoners, and the Inquisitors themselves barely escaped with their lives. The first petition presented by the Aragonese to Philip III. on his accession was that the Inquisition should be abolished in Aragon, and the Holy Office never dared to deal with Aragonese as they dealt with Castilians.—H.

promptly retired, and also to Rome, to remonstrate against the new institution, and more especially against the new provisions for the forfeiture of the property of the convicted. If these provisions, contrary to the laws of Aragon, were repealed or suspended, the deputies "were persuaded," and there was a grim humour in the suggestion, "that the tribunal itself would soon cease to exist".

But the repression of heresy was far too profitable an undertaking to be lightly abandoned; nor was Ferdinand of Aragon the man to abandon it; and the envoys returned from an unsuccessful mission to Valladolid, to find a *Quemadero* already blazing at Saragossa.

Yet the Aragonese were not at once reduced to subjection. A popular conspiracy led to the assassination of the Inquisitor-General, Pedro de Arbues, in spite of his steel cap and coat of mail, as he stood one day at matins in the cathedral of Saragossa (15th September, 1487);[1] but this daring crime served only to enrage Ferdinand and to strengthen the power of the Inquisition. A most rigorous and indefatigable inquiry, which was extended from Saragossa into every part of Aragon, was at once undertaken; and an immense number of victims, chosen not only from among the people, but from almost every noble family in Aragon, if it did not appease the vengeance of the inquisitors, gratified at least the avarice of Ferdinand. Among the accused, indeed, was Don Jayme of Navarre, a nephew of the King of Aragon—a son of Eleanor Queen of Navarre and her husband Gaston de Foix—who was actually arrested and imprisoned by the Holy Office; and discharged only after having done public penance, as convicted of having in some way sympathised with the assassination of Arbues. But it may be noted that the young prince was anything but a favourite with his uncle, to whom this bit of ecclesiastical discipline was no doubt very gratifying.[2]

But it was not only at Saragossa that opposition was offered to the establishment of the new tribunal. In every part of Aragon, of Catalonia and of Valencia; at Lerida, at Teruel, at Barcelona, the people rose against this new exhibition of royal

[1] Pedro de Arbues was canonised in 1664; and, as Llorente remarks, the Christian name of the three Inquisitors canonised as martyrs in Spain, France and Italy was in each case Peter; Peter of Castelnau, killed in 1204 by the Albigenses; Peter of Verona and Peter of Arbues.

[2] The story may be read at large in Llorente, vol. i., chap. vii., arts. 27-29, p. 3.

and priestly tyranny. Nor was it for fully two years, and after the adoption of the most savage measures of repression, both royal and ecclesiastical, that the Inquisition was finally accepted in the kingdom of Aragon, and that Torquemada, fortified by no less than two special Bulls, made his triumphal entry as Inquisitor-General into Barcelona on the 27th of October, 1488.[1]

Among all the tens of thousands of innocent persons who were tortured and done to death by the Inquisition in Spain, it is instructive to turn to the record of one man at least who broke through the meshes of the ecclesiastical net that was spread abroad in the country; for the mode of his escape is sufficiently instructive. Ready money at command, but not exposed to seizure, was the sole shield and safeguard against the assaults of Church and State. Don Alfonso de la Caballeria was a Jew by race, and a man who was actually concerned in the murder of the inquisitor Arbues; but his great wealth enabled him to purchase not only one but two Briefs from Rome, and to secure the further favour of Ferdinand. He was accused and prosecuted in vain by the Holy Office of Aragon. He not only escaped with his life, but he rose to a high position in the State, and eventually mingled his Jewish and heretic blood with that of royalty itself.

Various attempts were made by the Cortes of Aragon to abate the powers of the Inquisition; and at the Cortes of Monzon, in 1510, so vigorous a remonstrance was addressed to Ferdinand that he was unable to do more than avoid a decision, by a postponement on the ground of desiring fuller information; and two years later, at the same place, he was compelled to sanction a declaration or ordinance, by which the authority assumed by the Holy Office, in defiance of the constitution of Aragon, was specifically declared to be illegal; and the king swore to abolish the privileges and jurisdiction of the Inquisition. Within a few months, however, he caused himself to be absolved from this oath by a Papal Brief; and the Inquisition remained unreformed and triumphant. But the Aragonese had not yet entirely lost their independence, and a popular rising compelled the king not only to renounce the Brief, so lately received, but to solicit from the Pope a Bull (12th May, 1515), exonerating him from so doing, and calling

[1] See Llorente, i., chap. vii., art. 1. (It should be added, however, that almost every Cortes of Aragon that was held thenceforward protested against the intrusion of the Inquisition into other than purely ecclesiastical causes.—H.)

upon all men, lay and ecclesiastical, to maintain the authority of the Cortes. Aragon was satisfied. And the people enjoyed for a season the blessings of comparative immunity from persecution.[1]

To recall the manifold horrors of the actual working of the Inquisition in Spain would be a painful and an odious task. To record them in any detail is surely superfluous;[2] even though they are entirely denied by such eminent modern writers as Hefele, in Germany, or Menendez Pelayo, in Spain. The hidden enemy, the secret denunciation, the sudden arrest, the unknown dungeon, the prolonged interrogatory, the hideous torture, the pitiless judge, the certain sentence, the cruel execution, the public display of sacerdotal vengeance, the plunder of the survivors, innocent even of ecclesiastical offence —all these things are known to every reader of every history.[3] All other considerations apart, it is an abuse of language to speak of the proceedings before the Inquisition as a trial, for the tribunal was nothing but a Board of Conviction. One acquittal in 2000 accusations was, according to Llorente, who had access to all the records of the Holy Office in Spain, about the proportion that was observed in their judicial findings.[4]

Statistics, as a rule, are not convincing, and figures are

[1] Llorente, i., chap. vii.

[2] For the dreadful details of the procedure of the Holy Office, for an account of the various forms of torture customary, and for a very good description of an *Auto de Fé* and the subsequent burning at the *Quemadero* outside the gate of Fuencarral, Madrid, see *The Inquisition Unmasked*, translated by William Walton from the Spanish of Antonio Puigblanch (London, 1816), two vols. See also *Artes de la Inquisicion Española*, by Raymundo Gonzalez de Montes, printed at Heidelberg in 1567, and reprinted at Madrid in 1851. There is a copy in the Dublin University Library, where there is also a most interesting collection of sixty-nine volumes of MSS. records—most of them original, and all, I believe, authentic, of the Inquisition—not, I am sorry to say, in Spain—but at Rome.

They have been examined by Dr. Benrath, who has published an account of the collection with 111 extracts in the *Revista Cristiana* of Turin, November, 1879, to May, 1880. The documents are also referred to by M. Gaidoz, in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, Paris, 1867, and by the Rev. Richard Gibbings in many of his published works (1842-1872).

[3] The adoption by the proudest grandees, of the sable livery and odious office of the Familiars of the Holy Office, was not common until after the death of Isabella. Llorente, i., chap. viii., art. 7. It was, no doubt, the safest position to occupy, when every one outside the Inquisition was liable at any moment to be haled before it. The man who rings the bell, says the Spanish proverb, is quite safe (*A buen salva está el que repica*); and the enjoyment of any ecclesiastical office, however humble, was, no doubt, the most certain mode of securing safety, if not immunity, in Spain at the close of the fifteenth century.

[4] Llorente, i., chap. ix., art. 13. It is only right to add that, after the accession of Philip III., the character of the proceedings entirely changed.

rarely impressive; yet it may be added that, according to Llorente's cautious estimate, over 10,000 persons were burnt alive during the eighteen years of Torquemada's supremacy alone; that over 6000 more were burnt in effigy either in their absence or after their death, and their property acquired by the Holy Office; while the number of those whose goods were confiscated, after undergoing less rigorous punishments, is variously computed at somewhat more or somewhat less than 100,000. But it is obvious that even these terrible figures give but a very feeble idea of the vast sum of human suffering that followed the steps of this dreadful institution. For they tell no tale of the thousands who died, and the tens of thousands who suffered, in the torture chamber. They hardly suggest the anguish of the widow and the orphan of the principal victims, who were left, bereaved and plundered, to struggle with a hard and unsympathetic world, desolate, poor and disgraced.

Nor does the most exaggerated presentment of human suffering tell of the disastrous effects of the entire system upon religion, upon morals, upon civil society at large. The terrorism, the espionage, the daily and hourly dread of denunciation, in which every honest man and woman must have lived, the boundless opportunities for extortion and for the gratification of private vengeance and worldly hatred, must have poisoned the whole social life of Spain. The work of the Inquisition, while it tended, no doubt, to make men orthodox, tended also to make them false, and suspicious, and cruel. Before the middle of the sixteenth century, the Holy Office had profoundly affected the national character; and the Spaniard, who had been celebrated in Europe during countless centuries for every manly virtue, became, in the new world that had been given to him, no less notorious for a cruelty beyond the imagination of a Roman emperor, and a rapacity beyond the dreams of a Republican proconsul.

Torquemada and Ferdinand may have burned their thousands and plundered their ten thousands in Spain. Their disciples put to death millions of the gentlest races of the earth, and ravaged without scruple or pity the fairest and most fertile regions of the new continent which had been given to them to possess.

As long as the Inquisition confined its operations to the Jews and the Moors, the Old Christians were injured and depraved by the development of those tendencies to cruelty

and rapacity that lie dormant in the heart of every man. But this was not the end. For when Spain at length sheltered no more aliens to be persecuted and plundered in the name of religion, and murder and extortion were forced to seek their easy prey in the new world beyond the Atlantic Ocean, the Holy Office turned its attention to domestic heresy; and the character of the Spaniard in Europe became still further demoralised and perverted. Every man was suspected. Every man became suspicious. The lightest word might lead to the heaviest accusation. The nation became sombre and silent. Religious life was but a step removed from heresy. Religion degenerated to empty and ostentatious display. Original thought was above all things dangerous. The Spaniard took refuge in routine. Social intercourse was obviously full of peril. A prudent man kept himself to himself, and was glad to escape the observation of his neighbours. Castile became a spiritual desert. The Castilian wrapped himself in his cloak, and sought safety in dignified abstraction.

The Holy Office has done its work in Spain. A rapacious government, an enslaved people, a hollow religion, a corrupt Church, a century of blood, three centuries of shame, all these things followed in its wake. And the country of Viriatus and Seneca, of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, where Ruy Diaz fought, and Alfonso studied, and where two warrior kings in two successive centuries[1] defied Rome temporal and Rome spiritual, and all the crusaders of Europe—Spain, hardly conquered by Scipio or by Cæsar, was enslaved by the dead hand of Dominic.

V.—*Juan Antonio Llorente.*

The great authority for the history of the Spanish Inquisition is, of course, the well-known Juan Antonio Llorente. He was born in March, 1756, of a good family in Aragon. After having taken the degree of Doctor of Civil and Canon Law at Saragossa. and having been ordained priest in 1779, he was made a local commissary of the Inquisition at Logroño in 1785: and was General Secretary to the Holy Office at Madrid from 1789 to 1792. A liberal priest, the friend of Jovellanos, the advocate of ecclesiastical reform, he not unnaturally incurred the disfavour

[1] Peter II., 1213, and Peter III., 1284.

of his superiors, and was banished from Madrid until 1805, when he obtained a canonry at Toledo from Godoy. On the suppression of the Inquisition, in 1808-9, Llorente was directed by King Joseph Bonaparte to prepare a history of the institution, and was entrusted for that purpose with the archives of the Holy Office, with which he was already familiar. His studies and researches led to the publication of his first *Anales de la Inquisicion en España*,[1] in two small duodecimo volumes at Madrid, 1812. In 1813-14 he shared the flight of Joseph to Paris, where his great work, *L'histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne*, was published in French, by A. Pellier, in 1818. It was afterwards translated into Spanish, and published in ten volumes, Madrid, 1822. A full and learned, if somewhat bitter critique of Llorente's work, and an abstract of what can be said against the man and the book generally—and it is not much—will be found in Hefele's *Vie de Ximenès*.[2]

Señor Menendez Pelayo finds fault with "his small erudition, his puerile criticism, his feeble and ungraceful style,"[3] and speaks of his work as a *galimatias* without a plan. Yet his facts have never been seriously impugned, nor can Hefele, the most learned of his opponents, bring any graver charge against him than that the number he gives as that of the victims at Seville in one year, should have been distributed over several years, and among several cities.[4]

It is certainly not to the honour of Llorente that he translated, if, indeed, he did translate, Faublas. But the writing of solid history is not always lucrative employment; Llorente, like other exiles, had presumably to pay for his dinner, and it may have been pleasant as well as profitable to turn from Torquemada to the Marquise de B——. It is but natural that the denouncers and vilifiers of Llorente should be more numerous and more bitter in Spain than in any other country. But these modern apologists or admirers of the Holy Office are not, as a rule, more remarkable for their accuracy than for their judgment. If their statements must be accepted with caution, their conclusions may

[1] A refutation or impugnation of Llorente's work was undertaken and published in 1816 by a gentleman of the somewhat unhappy name of Carnicero, entitled, *La Inquisicion justamente restablecida, ó impugnacion de la obra de J. A. Llorente*, two vols., Madrid, small 12mo. But the work is not very well done. Admirers of the Inquisition will find more solid comfort in Hefele and Menendez Pelayo; and more eloquent declamation in Vicente de Lafuente.

[2] Pp. 290-374.

[3] *Heterodoxos*, etc., iii., 422-4.

[4] Hefele, *Vie de Ximenès*, p. 290.

be read with amazement. From Father Camara,[1] in 1880, we learn, indeed, that Gibbon wrote an historical novel, that Mr. Draper has copied him, and that the Inquisition was so far from persecuting original thinkers, or checking science, that "it marvellously and powerfully contributed to take away the stumbling blocks, by freeing the path of knowledge from extravagant methods and ridiculous aphorisms". Admitting, says Father Camara, that a few hundred Jewish Bibles[2] were condemned to the flames, *for reasons that we know not,* is that a reason for questioning the "benignity" of the tribunal of the Holy Office, or impugning the enlightment of Torquemada?[3] After these judgments, we are scarcely surprised to read that the Inquisition did not burn one single man of science;[4] that the Holy Office did not even persecute a single *Judaizante*, as long as he preserved the appearance of Christianity; that the thousands of victims whose sufferings and deaths are recorded by Llorente are mere chimeras, stupendous absurdities, invented by the enemies of the Church; that no books were burned at Granada or at Seville, and that Torquemada and his fellow inquisitors were chiefly remarkable for their love of learning. If these things are so, then indeed is Llorente a liar; and there is no truth in the history of mankind.[5]

But if the records of Llorente may not be discredited and

[1] Padre Tomas Camara, *Refutacion*, etc. (Valladolid, 1880), p. 201.

Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe* is a book that for some reason has attracted an amount of attention in the Peninsula quite disproportionate to its general or special importance as an authority. It has not only been *twice* translated into Spanish, but has enjoyed the honour of a species of literary persecution scarcely less vindictive, but by no means as efficacious, as the more ancient method —by fire. At least four *Refutations* have been recently published in Spain: one is a translation of a German work by Father Smedth (Madrid, 1879); one is by Fr. Diaz Carmona, published in El Criterio, 1880; one by Señor Ortiz Lara, in 1881, spoken of with great admiration by Señor Menendez Pelayo; the third, and perhaps the most important, by Fr. Tomas Camara, published at Valladolid in 1880.

[2] *Heterodoxos*, etc., iii., 826.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 194. Que incomparable beneficio debièron los filosofos á la Inquisicion! *Op. cit.*, 202.

[5] Torquemada waged war upon freedom of thought in every form. In 1490, he caused innumerable Hebrew Bibles to be publicly burnt at Seville; and some time afterwards, over 6000 volumes of Oriental learning were destroyed in an *auto de fé* at Salamanca, the very nursery of science. Llorente, *Hist. de L'Inquisition*, tom. i., c. viii., art. 5. In addition to Llorente and one or two very inferior imitators, I have not only consulted but read a large number of orthodox works, both in French and Spanish, including those of Hefele, Menendez Pelayo and Vicente de Lafuente, all serious and important writers, as well as the writings of Fathers Camara (1880), Diaz Carmona, Smedth (1879), and others; and I have drawn largely upon the State Papers collected and edited by Bergenroth.

can hardly be explained away, the orthodox Spaniard of our own times takes up a position with regard to the works and ways of the Inquisition, and the spirit which animated its persecutions in Spain, even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is so frankly uncompromising, so full of an almost Semitic self-satisfaction, and a wholly Celtiberian obstinacy, and which so happily illustrates the nobler side of what we are accustomed to regard not only as a wicked, but as a disgraceful theory of Government, that it is at once interesting and agreeable to advert to it.

"If Protestantism," says Señor Menendez Pelayo, "everywhere victorious in the earlier half of the sixteenth century, fell back in the latter half, and has never since the death of Luther gained one inch of territory in Europe, it is due almost entirely to the tremendous sacrifices that were made by Spain.[1] Useless sacrifice! may men say; vain enterprise! nay; a sacrifice was never fruitless in a holy cause; even though the political economists and positivists of to-day may smile with pity and contempt upon a nation which fought against all Europe, not that she might extend her territories or obtain some tremendous pecuniary compensation, but merely for a theological idea—the most useless thing in the world! even though they may demonstrate how much better it would have been for her to have woven her flax into linen, and allowed Luther to come and go as he pleased in Spain! But our ancestors understood life in another fashion, nor did it ever occur to them to judge of great historic enterprises by their immediate and palpable results. Never since the time of Judas Maccabæus has there existed a people which might with so much reason consider itself as *chosen* to be the sword and arm of God. In Spain, even amid the wildest dreams of mediæval aggrandisement and of universal monarchy, every earthly consideration was constantly subordinated to the supreme object of bringing all mankind into one fold, and under one shepherd."[2]

Ya se acerca, Señor, ó ya es llegada
La edad dichosa en que promete el cielo
Una grey y un pastor sólo en el suelo,
Por suerte á nuestros tiempos reservada.

[1] Macaulay attributes it rather to the work of a single Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola. *Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.*

[2] Freely translated from Señor Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, tom. ii., pp. 679, 680.

Ya tan alto principio en tal jornada
Nos muestra el fin de vuestro santo celo,
Y anuncia al mundo para más consuelo
Un monarca, un imperio y una espada.[1]

[1] *Hernando de Acuña.* I venture to give a rough translation of these lines, because they seem to me admirably to embody the opinion that I have always enforced; namely that, at all events after the first few years of religious fervour induced by the circumstances of Isabella's reign and personal character, the real object of the religious persecution in Spain was political unified domination, for which religious unity was only a means:—

The time draws near. Perhaps, O Lord, the day,
That Thou hast promised shall *our* eyes behold:
When all Thy peoples in one mighty fold
Shall know Thy Shepherd and his voice obey.

From this, O Lord, Thy great design is plain
Another mercy to the world to give.
Under one Empire shall all creatures live:
One sword shall punish, and one King shall reign.—H.

CHAPTER XLI.

GRANADA.

(1228—1492.)

I.—*Moslem Civilisation.*

The rapid development of Moslem culture, no less than of Moslem power, is one of the marvels of history.[1] Within eighty years of the death of the inspired camel driver, his followers had not only spread themselves over the world from the Indus to the Cape de Verd, from western Spain to central Asia, but they had everywhere appeared not so much as conquerors as reformers. And of all the Moslem kingdoms of the world none was more distinguished by moral and material excellence, by learning and culture, by enlightenment and liberality, by the generous patronage of all that was useful and beautiful and good, than the Moslem Caliphate of Spain.[2]

[1] Jamais race, avant d'arriver à la conscience, ne dormait d'un sommeil si long et si profond que la race arabe. Jusqu' à ce mouvement extraordinaire qui nous la montre tout à coup conquérante et créatrice, l'Arabie n'a aucune place dans l'histoire politique, intellectuelle, ou religieuse du monde. Renan, *Hist. Gén. des Langues sémitiques*, p. 304. "Originally the Peninsula of Arabia was one of the most barbarous countries of Asia; its inhabitants a rude, nomadic race, subsisting on rapine and plunder. From the nature of their pursuits they had necessarily but little leisure for the culture of polite literature or the pleasing arts; nor, until a short time before the age of Mahomet, were alphabetical characters known to the Arabs. The whole of their literature consisted in a coarse and imperfect kind of poetry, and their knowledge was confined to genealogical notices and detached maxims of morality." Murphy and Shakespear, *Hist.*, etc., 208.

Ibn Khallikan (*apud* Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Arab.*, p. 153), says that with the exception of the Jews and Christians resident in Medina, and who for their learning were distinguished by the appellation of "The People of the Book," so great was the ignorance of the Arabs, that not a single person could be found in the whole district of Yemen, who could either read or write Arabic.

[2] In no department of science or statecraft were the leaders of the Spanish Arabs more distinguished than in the unobtrusive but all important practice of agriculture. See an essay by the Abbé Correa de Serra in tom. i. of the *Archives littéraires de l'Europe* (Paris, 1804); and Masdeu, tom. xii., 115-131. As to the

Astronomy and mathematics, chemistry and botany, medicine and surgery, intelligent agriculture and scientific irrigation, architecture and poetry, music, and all the minor arts and refinements of life, were studied and practised with success. The invention of the mariner's compass, of writing paper, and of gunpowder are claimed by the Spanish Arabs. And their philosophy, their poetry, and their historical and scientific treatises were no less celebrated than their academies, their libraries, their gardens, their fountains and their palaces.

But although the influence of Moslem philosophers upon European thought was, as we have already seen, considerable, the influence of Cordovan civilisation upon Christian Spain was infinitesimal. When the Caliphate was broken up, not by the Alfonsos or the Ferdinands, but by the religious fanatics from Africa, the old Arab culture was destroyed and despised. Yet learning did not perish. And when, 250 years later, St. Ferdinand ruled at Cordova and at Seville, and Arab refinement took refuge for a season in the kingdom of Granada, Arab science still lingered at the court of Alfonso X.; but by the end of the thirteenth century Cordovan civilisation had perished. Like a choice exotic in a northern garden, like some rare flower blooming out of due season, it had blossomed and died. The glories and the perfections of the Moslem commonwealth in the Peninsula are scarcely even a factor in the progress of Spain.

Why the ignorant children of the desert should in one hundred years have attained a degree of civilisation, in the largest sense of the word, superior to all that had gone before or that immediately followed them in western Europe—a civilisation, which after one thousand years of progress, is hardly surpassed in the modern world, is one of the enigmas of human progress. That the greatness should be the greatness of a dead past, and should count for nothing in the history of the Spanish nation, is scarcely less strange; and it is even more deplorable.

Islam, for some mysterious reason, seems incapable of founding a great civilisation.[1] Rapid progress is followed by

discovery of the mariner's compass, see Viardot, *Essai*, etc., 143-6. As to the invention of gunpowder, *ibid.*, i., 146-155. And as to the enormous advancement of the Arabs in every department of science and art, see Murphy and Shakespear, *Hist. of Mohammedan Empire in Spain*, part ii.; Draper's *Intellectual Development in Europe*, vol. ii.; Viardot, *Essai*; and Gayangos, *Mohammedan Dynasty in Spain*.

[1] L'irrémédiable faiblesse de la race arabe est dans son manque absolu d'esprit politique, et dans son incapacité de toute organisation. Anarchique par nature, l'Arabe est invincible dans la conquête, mais impuissant le jour ou il s'agit de fonder une société durable. Renan, *Mélanges* (ed. 1878), p. 283.

equally rapid decay. An Arab community cannot exist without a leader—a personal and visible head. The Roman *Republica* is not, and cannot be realised under the rule of the Mohammedan.[1] Nowhere, perhaps, has civil life and the feeling of nationality been more highly developed than among the Arabs in Spain; and yet as regards true political solidity, they were inferior to the uncultivated and ignorant barbarians who drove them out of one of the fairest of their earthly possessions. There was no national continuity under the Moslem rulers. Under Abdur Rahman the commonwealth was refined. Under Almanzor it was warlike. Under Hakam I. it meant literature. Under Hakam II. it meant anarchy.

Neither Conde or Prescott has adverted to the transition of power from the *Sharkin*—the Saracens—the people of the East, to the *Maghrebin*, or people of the West. And yet this is one of the most important facts in connection with the change of the character, and the decay of the power of the rule of Islam in Spain. When Averroës was sacrificed, Spanish Mohammedanism had already ceased to be worthy of its glorious traditions; its empire had already perished. The Almoravides were warriors. The Almohades were fanatics.[2] The Moors of Granada, indeed, were brave, and cultivated, and luxurious. But the Imperial toleration, the moral and intellectual supremacy of the great days of Cordova, hardly survived the last of the Abdur Rahmans. When Al Zagal and Boabdil gave way to the Christian, Granada no longer existed; and the sheep, without a shepherd, were devoured by their relentless enemies.[3]

II.—*The Rise of Granada.*

In the year 1228 a noble chieftain of the great tribe or family of the Beni Hud, descended from the old Moslem kings of Saragossa, rebelling against the declining authority of the fanatical Almohades, had succeeded in making himself master

[1] "La Race sémitique," says M. Renan, "n'a pas de vie civile." *Hist. des langues sémitiques*, p. 16.

[2] *Edinburgh Review*, lxviii., p. 395.

[3] Semblables a ces natures fécondes qui, après une gracieuse enfance n'arrivent qu'a une médiocre virilité, les nations sémitiques ont eu leur complet épanouissement á leur premier âge, et n'ont plus de rôle a leur âge mur. Renan, *ubi supra*, p. 14.

Yet as to the high civilisation of Granada in the middle of the fifteenth century, see Sismondi, *Repub. Ital.* (1818), ix., 405.

of Granada. Desirous of perpetuating his rule in that fairest of cities, he obtained a confirmation of his rights of sovereignty from the Caliph at far away Bagdad, and assumed the title of *Amir ul Moslemin* and *Al Mutawakal*, the commander of the Moslems, and the protected of God; and he possessed himself not only of Granada, but of Cordova, Seville, Algeciras and even Ceuta, on the opposite coast of Africa.

But a rival was not slow to appear. Mohammed *Al Ahmar*, the Fair or the Ruddy, defeated, dethroned and slew *Al Mutawakal*, and reigned in his stead in Andalusia. Despoiled in his turn of most of his possessions by St. Ferdinand of Castile, *Al Ahmar* was fain at length to content himself with the rich districts in the extreme south of the Peninsula, which are known to fame, wherever the Spanish or the English language is spoken, as the kingdom of Granada. And thus it came to pass that the city on the banks of the Darro, the home of the proud and highly cultivated Syrians of Damascus—the flower of the early Arab invaders of Spain, became also the abiding place of the later Arab civilisation, overmastered year after year, and destroyed, by the Christian armies ever pressing on to the southern sea. Yet, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the flood tide of reconquest had for the moment fairly spent itself. The Christians were not strong enough to conquer, and above all they were not numerous enough to occupy, the districts that were still peopled by the Moor; and for once, a wise and highly cultivated Christian shared the supreme power in the Peninsula with a generous and honourable Moslem. Alfonso X. sought not to extend his frontiers, but to educate his people; not to slaughter his neighbours, but to give laws to his subjects; not to plunder frontier cities, but to make Castile into a kingdom, with a history, a civilisation, and a language of her own. If the reputation of Alfonso is by no means commensurate with his true greatness, the statesmanship of Mohammed *Al Ahmar*, the founder of the ever famous kingdom of Granada, is overshadowed by his undying fame as an architect. Yet is *Al Ahmar* worthy of remembrance as a king and the parent of kings in Spain. The loyal friend and ally of his Christian neighbour, the prudent administrator of his own dominions, he collected at his Arab court a great part of the wealth, the science, and the intelligence of Spain. His empire has long ago been broken up; the Moslem has been driven out; there is no king nor kingdom of Granada. But their memory lives in the great palace fortress, whose red towers

still rise over the sparkling Darro, and whose fairy chambers are still to be seen, in what is, perhaps, the most celebrated of the wonderful works of the master builders of the world.

After his long and glorious reign of forty-two years, Mohammed the Fair was killed by a fall from his horse near Granada, and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed II., in the last days of the year 1272. *Al Ahmar* had ever remained at peace with Alfonso X., but his son, taking advantage of the king's absence in quest of an empire in Germany, sought the assistance of Yusuf, the sovereign or Emperor of Morocco, and invaded the Christian frontiers.

Victory was for some time on the side of the Moors. The Castilians were defeated at Ecija in 1275, and their leader, the Viceroy Don Nuño de Lara, was killed in battle, as was also Don Sancho, Infante of Aragon and Archbishop of Toledo, after the rout of his army at Martos, near Jaen, on the 21st of October, 1275; and the victorious Yusuf ravaged Christian Spain to the very gates of Seville.

In the next year, 1276, the Castilian armies were again twice defeated, in February at Alcoy, and in the following July at Lucena. To add to their troubles, King James of Aragon died at Valencia, in 1276. Sancho of Castile sought to depose his father Alfonso, at Valladolid. All was in confusion among the Christians; and had it not been for the defection of Yusuf of Morocco, the tide of fortune might have turned in favour of Islam. As it was, the African monarch not only abandoned his cousin of Granada, but he was actually persuaded to send a large subsidy to his Christian rival at Seville in 1280.[1]

The value of this assistance was soon felt. Tarifa was taken in 1292, and the progress of the Moor was checked for ever in southern Spain. Mohammed II. died in 1302, and was succeeded by his son, Mohammed III., who was usually considered by the Moslem historians to have been the ablest monarch of his house. But he reigned for only seven years, and he was unable to defend Gibraltar from the assaults of his Christian rivals.

From this time the court of Granada became a sort of city of refuge for the disaffected lords and princes of Castile, who sometimes, but rarely, prevailed upon their Moslem hosts to assist them in expeditions into Christian Spain, but who were always welcomed with true Arab hospitality at the Moslem capital.

[1] A hundred thousand ducats. By the diplomatic skill of Guzman the Good the hero of Tarifa. See *ante*, vol. i., chap. xxviii.

To record their various intrigues would be a vain and unpleasing task. The general course of history was hardly affected by passing alliances. The Christian pressed on—with ever-increasing territory behind him—on his road to the southern sea.

In 1319, Abdul Walid or Ismail I. of Granada defeated and slew Don Pedro and Don Juan, Infantes of Castile, at a place near Granada, still known as the Sierra de los Infantes. But no important consequences followed the victory.

In the reign of Yusuf [1333-1354] was fought the great battle of the Salado [1340], when the Christians, under Alfonso XI., were completely successful; and the capitulation of Algeciras three years later deprived the Moslems of an important harbour and seaport.[1] Day by day, almost hour by hour—the Christians encroached upon Granada, even while cultivating the political friendship and accepting the private hospitality of the Moslem. Their treacherous intervention reached its climax in 1362, when, as we have already seen, Peter the Cruel decoyed the King Abu Said, under his royal safe-conduct, to the palace at Seville, and slew him with his own hand.

With Mohammed or Maulai al Aisar, or the Left-handed, the affairs of Granada became more intimately connected with the serious history of Spain. Al Hayzari, proclaimed king in 1423, and dethroned soon after by his cousin, another Mohammed, in 1427, sought and found refuge at the court of John II., by whose instrumentality he was restored to his throne at the Alhambra in 1429. Yet within four years a rival sovereign, Yusuf, had secured the support of the fickle Christian, and Muley the Left-handed was forced a second time to fly from his capital. Once again, by the sudden death of the new usurper, he returned to reign at Granada, and once again for the third time he was supplanted by a more fortunate rival, who reigned as Mohammed IX. for nearly ten years [1445-1454]. At the end of this period, however, another pretender was despatched from the Christian court, and after much fighting and intrigue, Mohammed ibn Ismail, a nephew of Maulai or Muley the Left-handed drove out the reigning sovereign, and succeeded him as Mohammed X.

Yet were the dominions of this ally unceasingly ravaged by his Christian neighbours. Gibraltar, Archidona and much surrounding territory were taken by the forces of Henry IV. and his nobles; and a treaty was at length concluded in 1464, in which

[1] The death of Alfonso XI. as he was about to invest Gibraltar has been spoken of, *ante*, chapters xvii., xxviii.

it was agreed that Mohammed of Granada should hold his kingdom under the protection of Castile, and should pay an annual subsidy or tribute of 12,000 gold ducats. It was thus, on the death, in 1466, of this Mohammed Ismail of Granada, a vexed and harassed throne that was inherited by his son Muley Abul Hassan, ever famous in history and romance as *The Old King*—the last independent sovereign of Granada.[1]

III.—*Boabdil.*

For many years after his accession this Muley Abul Hassan was induced either by honour or by prudence to maintain the existing treaties with his Christian neighbours. He did not even take advantage of their civil wars in Castile to add to the difficulties of Isabella, either by independent invasion or by alliance with her enemies; and in the spring of 1476, he sought a formal renewal of the old Treaty of Peace.[2]

The ever grasping Ferdinand made his acceptance of the king's proposal contingent upon the grant of an annual tribute; and he sent an envoy to the Moslem court to negotiate the terms of payment. But the reply of Abul Hassan was decisive. "Steel," said he, "not gold, was what Ferdinand should have from Granada!" Disappointed of their subsidy, and unprepared for war, the Christian sovereigns were content to renew the treaty, with a mental reservation that as soon as a favourable opportunity should present itself, they would drive every Moslem not only out of Granada, but out of Spain.[3]

For five years there was peace between Abul Hassan and the Catholic sovereigns. The commencement of hostilities was the capture of Zahara by the Moslems at the close of the year 1481; which was followed early in the next year 1482, by the conquest of the far more important Moorish stronghold of Alhama, not by

[1] A good deal of light has been thrown upon the history of some of the later Moslem kings in Granada by the discoveries of tombs at Tlemcen in Algiers by Monsieur Brosselard, sometime Prefect of Oran, whose work, published by the French Government in 1876, *Mémoire épigraphique et historique sur les tombeaux des emirs Beni zeiyam, et de Boabdil, dernier roi de Grenade*, is one of great originality and interest.

[2] Muley (Maulāi) is an Arabic word meaning "my lord".
Abu el Hassan = the father of Hassan. The name is often written Aben Hassan, and in many less intelligible ways. Abul Hassan is perhaps a convenient, as it is a fairly accurate, transliteration.

[3] *Conquistar el Reyno de Granada y lanzar de todas las Españas los Moros y el nombre de Mahoma.* Pulgar, *Cronica*, 180.

the troops of Ferdinand and Isabella, but by the followers of Ponce de Leon, the celebrated Marquis of Cadiz. Alhama was not merely a fortress. It was a treasure-house and a magazine; and it was but five or six leagues from Granada. The town was sacked with the usual horrors. The Marquis of Cadiz having made good his position within the walls, defied all the attacks of Abul Hassan; and at the same time sent messengers to every Christian lord in Andalusia to come to his assistance—to all save one, his hereditary enemy, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, chief of the great family of the Guzmans. Yet it was this generous rival, who assembling all his chivalry and retainers, was the first to appear before the walls of Alhama, and relieve the Christians from the threatened assault of the Moslem.[1] The days of civil discord had passed away in Castile; and against united Christendom, Islam could not long exist in Spain.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand, seeing that war had finally broken out, started from Medina del Campo, and marched with all speed to Cordova, where he was joined by Isabella early in April, 1482. The Inquisition had now been for over a year in full blast at Seville. The fires of persecution had been fairly lighted. The reign of bigotry had begun, and the king and queen were encouraged to proceed from the plunder of the Jews or New Christians, to the plunder of the Moslems. Ferdinand accordingly repaired in person to Alhama, with a large train of prelates and ecclesiastics of lower degree. The city was solemnly purified. Three mosques were consecrated by the Cardinal of Spain for Christian worship. Bells, crosses, plate, altar cloths were furnished without stint; and Alhama having been thus restored to civilisation, Ferdinand descended upon the fruitful valley or *Vega* of Granada, destroyed the crops, cut down the fruit trees, uprooted the vines, and without having encountered a single armed enemy in the course of his crusade, returned in triumph to Cordova.[2] A more arduous enterprise in the following July was not attended with the same success, when Ferdinand attacked the important town of Loja, and was repulsed with great loss of Christian life. An expedition

[1] Alfonso de Aguilar, the elder brother of Gonsalvo de Cordova, was less fortunate; and his army was repulsed by the Moors. It may give some idea of the power and importance of the great Castilian lords to know that the Duke of Medina Sidonia's *private* army numbered about 5000 horse and 40,000 foot!

[2] The king's army was accompanied by professional destroyers—*Taladores* or *Gastadores*—whose duty it was to cut down every fruit tree, trample down every field of corn, root up every vine, tear up every garden, burn every defenceless house, while the braver soldiers occupied themselves with the enemy in arms. Pulgar, *Cronica*, 226.

against Malaga, later in the year, undertaken by Alfonso de Cardenas, Grand Master of Santiago, and the Marquis of Cadiz, was even more disastrous, for a small body of Moors in the mountain defiles of the Axarquia fell upon the Christian marauders, and no less than 400 "persons of quality" are said to have perished in the retreat, including thirty commanders of the great military order of Santiago. The grand master, the Marquis of Cadiz and Don Alfonso de Aguilar escaped as by a miracle, and the survivors straggled into Loja and Antequera and Malaga, leaving Abul Hassan and his brother *Al Zagal*, or the Valiant, with all the honours of war.[1]

But the successes of the Moor in the field were more than counterbalanced by treason in the palace. By Zoraya,[2] a lady of Christian ancestry, Muley Abul Hassan had a son, Abu Abdallah, who has earned a sad notoriety under the more familiar name of Boabdil. Jealous of some rival, or ambitious of greater power, the Sultana and her son intrigued against their sovereign, and having escaped from the State prison, in which they were at first prudently confined, raised the standard of revolt, and compelled Abul Hassan, who was thenceforth more usually spoken of as *The Old King*, to seek refuge on the sea coast at Malaga.

Boabdil, jealous of the success of his father and his uncle at Loja and in the Axarquia, and anxious to confirm his power by some striking victory over the Christians, took the field and confronted the forces of the Count of Cabra, near Lucena. The battle was hotly contested, but victory remained with the Christians. Ali Atar, the bravest of the Moorish generals, was slain by the hand of Alfonso de Augilar, and Boabdil himself was taken prisoner by a common soldier, Hurtado by name, and fell into the hands of the victorious Count of Cabra.[3] The

[1] A full and *romantic* account of all their warlike operations will be found in Washington Irving's *Conquest of Granada*.

[2] Prescott is confused about *Ayesha* and *Zoraya*. The queen was *Ayesha*, a good Muslimin. The concubine was *Zoraya*, an Andalusian Christian, and no Greek. It was her supposed rival in the harem that is said to have been a Greek slave. *Zoraya* is said by D. Pascual Gayangos to signify *The Morning Star*. But the Arab word is somewhat uncertain. The lady's real name was Doña Isabel de Solis, and she was a daughter of Don Juan de Solis, governor of Martos. On the taking of this stronghold by the Moors, Doña Isabel was taken captive to Granada, and destined for the royal harem. *Cf.* Francisco Martinez de la Rosa, *Doña Isabel de Solis*, Madrid, 1839, *passim*.

[3] The title of Don (see *ante*, vol. i., p. 108) was granted to the Count of Cabra for this good fortune, as it was afterwards granted to Columbus for having discovered a new world. As to the origin and significance of the title itself, possibly from the Hebrew *Adon*, rather than the Latin *Dominus*, see Saez, *Demostracion de Monedas*, etc. (ed. 1796), pp. 320-336.

captivity of Boabdil, the Little King, *el Rey Chico*, as he was called by the Castilians, was the turning point in the history of the Moorish dominion in Spain. Released on payment of a magnificent ransom provided by his mother Zoraya, and bound to his Christian captors by a humiliating treaty, he returned to Granada, disgraced and dishonoured, as the ally of the enemies of his country. Driven out of the capital by the forces of his father, who had returned to occupy the great palace-fortress of Alhambra, Boabdil and his mother retired to Almeria, the second city in the kingdom; and the whole country was distracted by civil war.

Yet for four years the Castilians refrained from any important expedition against Granada. Their tactics were rather those of Scipio at Numantia. For delay was all in favour of disintegration.

Yet the merciless devastation of fields and crops was carried on with systematic and dreadful completeness. Thirty thousand destroyers of peaceful homesteads, granaries, farm-houses and mills were constantly at work, and ere long there was scarce a vineyard or an oliveyard, scarce an orchard or an orange-grove existing within reach of the Christian borders. Under cover of the treaty with Boabdil, this devilish enginery of destruction was steadily pushed forward, while *The Old King* and his more vigorous brother *El Zagal*[1] were prevented by domestic treason from making any effectual defence of their fatherland. Some of the border towns, moreover, fell into the hands of the Christians, and many forays were undertaken which produced rich booty for the marauders. Ferdinand in the meantime occupied himself rather with the affairs of the Inquisition and of foreign policy, while Isabella was personally superintending the enormous preparations for a final attack on Granada. Artillery was cast in large quantities, and artificers imported from France and Italy; large stores of ammunition were procured from Flanders. Nothing was hurried; nothing was spared; nothing was forgotten by Isabella. A camp hospital, the first, it is said, in the history of warfare, was instituted by the queen, whose energy was indefatigable, whose powers of organisation were boundless, and whose determination was inflexible. To represent her as a tender and timid princess, is to turn her true greatness into ridicule. But her vigour, her prudence, and her perseverance are beyond the vulgar praise of history.

[1] *Al Zagal*, the valiant. Viardot strangely enough has it *el saghir*, the young or the little = *el chico*, the nickname of Boabdil.

Meanwhile, Granada was gradually withering away. The "pomegranate," as Ferdinand had forseen and foretold, was losing one by one the seeds of which the rich and lovely fruit had once been all compact. *The Old King*, defeated but not disgraced, blind, infirm and unfortunate, was succeeded too late by his more capable brother, *Al Zagal*, a gallant warrior, a skilful commander and a resolute ruler. But if "the valiant one" might hardly have held his own against the enormous resources of the Christians in Europe, he was powerless against the combination of foreign vigour and domestic treachery. The true conqueror of Granada is Boabdil, the rebel and the traitor, who has been euphemistically surnamed the Unlucky (*Al Zogoibi*). Innocent, perchance, of the massacre of the brave Abencerrages, he is guilty of the blood of his country.[1]

The capture of Velez Malaga by Ferdinand, already well supplied with a powerful train of artillery, in April, 1487—while *Al Zagal* was fighting for his life against Boabdil in Granada—was soon followed by the reduction, after a most heroic defence, of the far more important city of Malaga in August, 1487. But the heroism of the Moslem woke no generous echo in the hearts of either Ferdinand or Isabella. The entire population of the captured city, men, women and children —some 15,000 souls—were reduced to slavery, and distributed not only over Spain, but over Europe.[2]

A hundred choice warriors were sent as a gift to the Pope. Fifty of the most beautiful girls were presented to the Queen of Naples, thirty more to the Queen of Portugal, others to the ladies of her court, and the residue of both sexes were portioned off among the nobles, the knights, and the common soldiers of the army, according to their rank and influence.[3]

For the Jews and renegades a more dreadful doom was reserved; and the flames in which they perished were, in the words of a contemporary ecclesiastic, "the illuminations most grateful to the Catholic piety of Ferdinand and Isabella".[4]

[1] The Abencerrages, or *Beni Sarâi*, were an old Cordovan family.

[2] For the generosity as well as the heroism of the Moslem garrison, see Pulgar, cap. xci.; Bernaldez, cap. lxxxiv.; and Hita, *Guerras de Granada*, i., 257. Boabdil actually waylaid and dispersed the army of his uncle on its march from Granada to relieve the gallant defenders of Malaga. Folly and wickedness could no further go, and a country which could tolerate such conduct positively deserved to perish.

[3] Pulgar, Bernaldez, Peter Mart., *Epist.*, i., 62-63; Prescott, i., 410-11.

[4] Albarca, *Reyes de Aragon*, ii., 30. Prescott states, without any authority, that this "dreadful sentence was obviously most repugnant to Isabella's natural

The town was repeopled by Christian immigrants, to whom the lands and houses of the Moslem owners were granted with royal liberality by the victors. The fall of Malaga, the second seaport and the third city of the kingdom of Granada, was a grievous loss to the Moors; and the Christian blockade was drawn closer both by land and by sea. Yet an invasion of the eastern provinces, undertaken by Ferdinand himself in 1488, was repulsed by El Zagal; and the Christian army was disbanded as usual at the close of the year, without having extended the Christian dominions.

But in the spring of 1489 greater efforts were made. The Castilians sat down before the town of Baza, not far from Jaen, and after a siege which lasted until the following December, the city surrendered, not as in the case of Malaga, without conditions, but upon honourable terms of capitulation, which the assailants, who had only been prevented by the arrival of Isabella from raising the siege, were heartily glad to accept. The fall of Baza was of more than passing importance, for it was followed by the capitulation of Almeria, the second city in the kingdom, and by the submission of *Al Zagal*, who renounced as hopeless the double task of fighting against his nephew at the Alhambra, and resisting the Christian sovereigns who had already overrun his borders. The fallen monarch passed over to Africa, where he died in indigence and misery, the last of the great Moslem rulers of Spain.[1]

In the spring of 1490, Ferdinand, already master of the greater part of the Moorish kingdom, sent a formal summons to his bondsman, Boabdil, to surrender to him the city of Granada; and that wretched and most foolish traitor, who had refrained from action when action might have saved his country, now defied the victorious Christians, when his defiance could only lead to further suffering and greater disaster.

Throughout the summer of 1490, Ferdinand, in person, devoted himself to the odious task of the devastation of the entire *Vega* of Granada, and the depopulation of the town of Guadix. But in the spring of the next year, Isabella, who was ever the life and soul of the war, took up her position within

disposition," and asks our approbation of his heroine's conduct in declining certain ecclesiastical suggestions that *every one* of the inhabitants should be put to the sword. See *Ferdinand and Isabella*, i., 411.

[1] Cardonne, iii., 304; Conde, iii., 245; Pet. Mart., lib. iii., *Epist.*, 81.

six miles of the city, and pitched her camp at Ojos de Huescar at the very gate of Granada.[1]

And here was found assembled, not only all the best blood of Castile, but volunteers and mercenary troops from various countries in Europe. France, England, Italy, and even Germany, each provided their contingent; and a body of Swiss soldiers of fortune showed the gallant cavaliers of the Christian army the power and the value of a well-disciplined infantry. Among the foreigners who had come over to Spain in 1486 was an English lord, the Earl of Rivers, known by the Spaniards as el Conde de Escalas, from his family name of Scales, whose magnificence attracted the admiration of all, even at the magnificent court of Isabella.[2]

But the destruction of Granada was not brought about by these gilded strangers, nor even by the brilliant knights and nobles of Spain. It was not due to skilful engineers nor to irresistible commanders. The gates were opened by no victory. The walls were scaled by no assault. The Christian success was due to the patient determination of Isabella, to the decay and disintegration of the Moorish commonwealth, and, to some extent, to the skilful negotiation and diplomatic astuteness of a young soldier whose early influence upon the fortunes of Spain have been overshadowed by the greatness of his late achievements.

For among all the splendid knights and nobles who assem-

[1] The events of the last war of Granada are much confused. The following sequence, with approximate dates, has been carefully prepared, and may assist the reader to form a somewhat clearer idea of the history:—

Surprise of Zahara	December,	1481
Capture of Alhama	February,	1482
Ferdinand's visit to Alhama	May,	1482
Christian defeat at Loja	July,	1482
Rout in the Axarquia	March,	1483
Defeat and capture of Boabdil at Lucena ...	April,	1483
Treaty between Boabdil and Ferdinand ...	August,	1483
Accession of *Al Zagal*	January,	1484
Capture of Ronda	June,	1485
,, Loja	May,	1486
,, Velez Malaga	April,	1487
,, Malaga	August,	1487
Repulse of Ferdinand in eastern Granada ...	June,	1488
Siege and surrender of Baza	May to Dec.,	1489
Ravage of the *Vega*	April and May,	1490
Final siege and capitulation of the city ...	25th November,	1491
Entry of the Christian Sovereigns	2nd January,	1492

[2] Peter Martyr, lib. i., *Ep.*, 62; Bernaldez, cap. lxxviii. Lord Rivers left Spain in 1487.

bled in the camp of Isabella, the chroniclers well-nigh overlooked a gay cavalier of modest fortune, the younger brother of Alfonso de Aguilar—distinguished rather as a fop than a warrior—Gonsalvo Hernandez of Cordova, whose fame was destined to eclipse that of all his companions in arms, and who has earned an undying reputation in the history of three countries as *The Great Captain.*

IV.—*Gonsalvo de Cordova.*

The life of Gonsalvo de Cordova is interesting as being the history of a brave soldier and an accomplished general, who flourished at a very important period of the history of Europe. But it is further and much more interesting as being the history of a man who united in himself many of the characteristics of ancient and of modern times. His bravery was the bravery of an old Castilian knight, and although he had many splendid rivals, he was pronounced by common consent to be their superior. Yet his individual courage was the least remarkable of his qualities. He was a general, such as the Western world had not known for a thousand years, and he was the first diplomatist of modern Europe. In personal valour, in knightly courtesy, in brave display, he was of his own time. In astute generalship, and in still more astute diplomacy, he may be said to have inaugurated a new era; and although greater commanders have existed after him, as well as before him, he will always be known as "The Great Captain".

The conquest of Granada marks an epoch, not only in the history of Spain, but in the history of Europe; and Gonsalvo was the hero of Granada. The expedition of Charles VIII. into Italy is a subject of almost romantic interest, very nearly preferred by Gibbon to his own immortal theme; and Gonsalvo in Italy was the admired of all French and Italian admirers. The succeeding expedition of Louis XII. was scarcely less interesting, and the part played by Gonsalvo was even more remarkable. At his birth artillery was almost unknown. At his death it had become the most formidable arm of offence; it had revolutionised the rules and manner of warfare; and it was employed by The Great Captain in both his Italian campaigns with marked skill and success.

Gonsalvo Hernandez was born at Montilla, near Cordova,

in 1453, of the noble and ancient family of the Aguilars.[1] After a boyhood and youth devoted, not only to every manly sport and pursuit, and to the practice of arms, but to the study of letters, and more especially of the Arabic language, he made his first appearance in serious warfare on the field of Olmedo, fighting under the banner of the Marquis of Villena. On the death of Prince Alfonso, Gonsalvo returned to Cordova. His father had already died; and according to the Spanish law of primogeniture the whole of the rich estates of the family of Aguilar passed, on the death of Don Pedro, to his eldest son Alfonso, while nothing but a little personal property, a great name, a fine person, and "the hope of what he might gain by his good fortune or his valour" was inherited by his younger brother.

Cordova was obviously too small a field for Gonsalvo de Aguilar; and in the course of the eventful year 1474, having just arrived at man's estate, he proceeded to Segovia, and distinguished himself among the young nobles who crowded to the court of Isabella, by his prowess at tournaments and all warlike games and exercises; and he soon became celebrated for his personal beauty as well as for his valour, distinguished for his fascinating manners, and, above all, by an eloquence rarely found in a young soldier of two-and-twenty. He was generally known as "the Prince of the Youth"; and he supported the character by an almost royal liberality and ostentatious expenditure entirely incompatible with his modest fortune.

In the war of succession between Isabella and her niece, Gonsalvo served under Alfonso de Cardenas, Grand Master of Santiago, in command of a troop of 120 horsemen; and he particularly distinguished himself at the battle of Albuera.

And now, in the camp before Granada, he was well pleased once more to sun himself in the smiles of his queen and patroness, whose presence in the camp inspired every soldier with

[1] It is certain, says Paul Jove, that his ancestors were noble and valiant warriors of very ancient lineage, for they called themselves Aquilari, and, as may be supposed, it was by virtue of their illustrious achievements that they bore the noble ensign of the legions of Rome. Whether, indeed, the Aguilars of the fifteenth century were descended from Roman or from Gothic ancestors, they bore the eagle in their arms, and though living in the great Moorish province of Cordova, they were undoubtedly entitled to the epithet of "Old Christians"—that is to say, their lineage was free from any taint of Moorish or Jewish blood. Their patronymic was, however, also written, though incorrectly, by contemporary poets and historians, "*Agidario*," "*Agellario*," and in Italian, "*Aghilar*," which last merely represents the true Spanish pronunciation of the word Aguilar.

enthusiasm. Isabella appeared on the field superbly mounted and dressed in complete armour, and continually visited the different quarters, and held reviews of the troops. On one occasion she expressed a desire to have a nearer view of the city, and a picked body of men, among whom was Gonsalvo de Cordova, commanded by the Marquis Duke of Cadiz, escorted her to the little village of Zubia, within a short distance of Granada. The citizens, indignant at the near approach of so small a force, sallied out and attacked them. The Christians, however, stood their ground so bravely, and performed such prodigies of valour under the very eyes of Isabella herself, that no less than 2000 Moslems are said to have fallen in that memorable affray.[1]

It happened one night about the middle of July, that the drapery of the tent or pavilion in which Isabella was lodged took fire; and the conflagration was not extinguished until several of the neighbouring tents had been consumed. The queen and her attendants escaped unhurt, but a general consternation prevailed throughout the camp, until it was discovered that no more serious loss had been experienced than that of the queen's wardrobe.

Gonsalvo, however, who on more than one occasion showed himself at least as practical a courtier as Sir Walter Raleigh, immediately sent an express to Illora, and obtained such a supply of fine clothes from his wife Doña Maria Manrique, that the queen herself was amazed, as much at their magnificence, as at the rapidity with which they had been obtained.

But this incident led to even more important results than the amiable pillage of Doña Maria's wardrobe, for in order to guard against a similar disaster, as well as to provide comfortable winter quarters for the troops, Isabella determined to construct a sufficient number of houses of solid masonry, to provide quarters for the besieging army, a design which was carried out in less than three months. This martial and Christian town, which received the appropriate name of Santa Fé, may be still seen by the traveller in the *Vega* of Granada, and is pointed out by good Catholics as the only town in Andalusia that has never been contaminated by the Moslem.

[1] After the conquest of Zahara, the gallant Ponce de Leon, Marquis of Cadiz, was created a duke, but unwilling to resign the older title under which he had won his laurels, ever afterwards subscribed himself and was called by his contemporaries, Marquis Duke of Cadiz. (Just as the favourite of Philip IV., Count de Olivares, after he was made Duke of St. Lucar was always called "the Count Duke of Olivares," never Duke of St. Lucar.—H.)

But in spite of the attractions of all these feats of arms and exhibitions of magnificence, and of all the personal display and rash adventure which savours so much more of mediæval chivalry than of modern warfare, Gonsalvo was more seriously engaged in the schemes and negotiations which contributed almost as much as the prowess of the Christian arms to the fall of Granada. He had spies everywhere. He knew what was going on in Granada better than Boabdil. He knew what was going on in the camp better than Ferdinand. His familiarity with Arabic enabled him to maintain secret communications with recreant Moors, without the dangerous intervention of an interpreter. He kept up constant communications with Illora, and having obtained the allegiance or friendship of the Moorish chief, Ali Atar, he gained possession of the neighbouring fortress of Mondejar. He sent presents, in truly Oriental style, to many of the Moorish leaders in Granada who favoured the party of Boabdil, and he was at length chosen by Isabella as the most proper person to conduct the negotiations that led to the treaty of capitulation, which was signed on the 25th of November, 1491.

The nature and the effect of this convention are well known. The triumphal entry of the Christians into the old Moslem capital; "the last sigh of the Moor," and the setting up of the cross in the palace-citadel of Alhambra, not only form one of the most glowing pages in the romance of history, but they mark an epoch in the annals of the world.[1]

[1] The taking of Granada was a subject of rejoicing throughout Christendom, and it is worthy of remark that a *Te Deum*, to return thanks for the success of the Christian arms, was sung in St. Paul's in London, by order of King Henry VII., in the presence of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and all the nobles and prelates that were about the court.

For the terms of the capitulation of Granada, see Conde, *Dom. de los Arabes*, iii., 42, and Zurita, ii., 90. The capitulation, ajustada entre los Reyes catolicos y el ultimo Rey de Granada Boabdil, 25th November, 1491, is printed *in extenso* in tom. viii. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., pp. 411, 436. The original is still preserved at Simancas.

CHAPTER XLII.

COLUMBUS.

(1474—1494.)

I.—*The Genoese Adventurer.*

The honour of the discovery of a new world in the Western Hemisphere has been consistently claimed by Spain; and to Isabella of Castile has usually been allowed the principal share in the ever-memorable enterprise of Columbus.

But no country and no sovereign ruler may justly enjoy the honour of the conception, the prosecution, and the realisation of the most memorable voyage in history. To one man, and to one man alone—the peaceful hero of two worlds—are due the glory and the renown. Columbus was an Italian; yet Italy had neither part nor lot in his work. The best days of his manhood were spent in Portugal; yet the Portuguese, albeit the pioneers of the ocean, scornfully rejected his proposals. For eight long years after he had passed into Spain, his projects met with no more intelligent regard; and the permission so long and so vainly sought, that he might endow the nation with a new world of boundless wealth and inestimable opportunities, was at last granted by the indifferent Isabella, only at the entreaties of a monk and a waiting woman.

It is due indeed to the uncommon intelligence of a forgotten Churchman[1] rather than to the wisdom or discernment of any queen or king or statesman in Spain, that from Palos in Andalusia, and not from any foreign port, the Genoese mariner was at length

[1] So far forgotten that his name has been mixed up with that of one of his subordinate friars, to whom is also due the credit of encouraging Columbus. But Fray Juan Perez was the prior and ex-confessor of the queen; Antonio Marchena was a humbler if an intelligent friar of La Rabida. "Juan Antonio Perez de Marchena" is one of the fantastic heroes of history.

permitted to set forth to annex a golden continent to the growing empire of Castile.

The affairs of America are necessarily excluded from the scope of a short history of Spain. Nor did the discoveries of Columbus exercise so great an influence upon the political or even the social condition of the Peninsula during the lifetime of Ferdinand the Catholic, as to render a study of the affairs of America and the Indies necessary to a due understanding of the position of Old Spain.

The story must therefore be told in a very few words. The early life of the great Italian forms no part of the history of Spain. Born in Genoa, probably between the years 1436 and 1441, Christoforo Colombo betook himself in 1470 to the great maritime port of Lisbon, seeking adventure beyond sea. A man of science and a man of action, he worked hard and he thought much. A practical seaman and a student of geography and mathematics, he speculated as a student, and sought to substantiate his speculation as a sailor.

In 1476 or 1477 he married a Portuguese wife [1] and settled at Lisbon, where he occupied himself with the manufacture and sale of charts and such nautical instruments as were then known to the leading maritime explorers of the world. After voyages to Iceland, to the coast of Guinea and to the Cape de Verd Islands, more than half-way between Lisbon and Cape St. Roque; after a residence of some years at Porto Santo; after much study and consideration, he submitted to John II. of Portugal a detailed and well-reasoned scheme for a voyage to the great undiscovered continent of the West.[2]

Nothing could be done in the fifteenth century without the

[1] His wife, Filippa Muñiz de Palestrello, or Perestello, was the daughter of an Italian navigator, at one time governor of the island of Porto Santo. See Elton, *Career of Columbus* (1892), pp. 72-78. His widow handed over to her son-in-law, all her husband's charts, papers and instruments, which were not only of the utmost value to Columbus in his actual business, but in his speculations for more distant voyages. Navarrete, *Viages*, Introduction, p. 81.

[2] As to the importance of their residence at the busy port of Porto Santo to the speculations of Columbus, see Elton, *Career of Columbus* (1892), pp. 72-89. Among other voyages certainly undertaken by the great navigator before that of Santo Domingo, a voyage to Iceland is usually included. See Clements Markham, *Columbus* (1892). For a very careful consideration of the evidence for this strange voyage, and for some suggestions and notes upon the possible connection, in days long anterior to Columbus, of the Icelanders and Greenlanders with North America, see Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America*, and Elton, *ubi supra*, pp. 99-168. (The authority for Columbus' voyage to Iceland is his own statement. "I sailed in the year 1477 in the month of February beyond Ultra Thule island a hundred leagues."—H.)

approbation of the Church; and the Ecclesiastical Council to which the proposal was duly submitted[1] had no hesitation in deciding that it was absurd. The Bishop of Ceuta, however, more crafty or more enlightened than his fellows, desired that this adverse report should not be communicated to Columbus, but that he should be amused with false hopes, whilst a vessel was fitted out and secretly despatched to seek for his new world. The pirate adventurer duly sailed; but having reached the Cape de Verd Islands and the Sargosso Sea she was driven back by storms, and lost her reckoning; and her captain, returning discomfited to Lisbon, reported that the voyage was impossible. The information thus obtained was scornfully conveyed to the Genoese dreamer by the well-satisfied councillors.

Disappointed, bereaved, ruined, but not hopeless, Christoforo took his little son Diego by the hand, and trudged out of Lisbon in the late autumn of 1484, a poorer and a sadder man than he had entered the city more than ten years before. Two hundred long miles did the humble traveller wend his way through the wild Alemtejo into the Andalusian province of Huelva, carrying in his wallet the title deeds of a new world.

Three or four miles nearer to the Straits of Gibraltar than the little town of Palos, and over-looking the far-famed Rio Tinto, stood and stands the old Franciscan Monastery of Santa Maria de la Rabida,[2] ever memorable in the earlier scenes of the great drama of which Columbus was the protagonist. And on the evening of the last day of January, 1485, the traveller and his child, weary after their long tramp from Lisbon, stood at the convent gate to ask for food and for shelter. The food and the shelter were not denied. A young monk, moreover, Fray Antonio Marchena, listened eagerly to the strange schemes that were laid before him by the grateful wayfarer, and even aroused the sympathy of his brethren. The good friar, in fine, agreed to undertake the care and the education of the little Diego, and

[1] The Bishop of Ceuta, the Bishop of Viseu, and two medical doctors, Roderic and Joseph, composed the court of inquiry. The verdict was unanimous against Columbus and his schemes.

[2] *Rabida*, from the Arabic, *Murabid* or *Murabit*, a soldier stationed on the frontier. See *Ed. Rev.*, lxviii., p. 394. The word is not given by Dozy and Engelmann. See note on *Almoravides*, vol. i., p. 188.

As to La Rabida *historically*, see the Duc de Montpensier's Monograph, "*La Rabida y Cristobal Colon*," 1855. (It is only right to say that very considerable, and apparently well grounded, difference of opinion exists as to Columbus' movements at this time. On good evidence it seems to me probable that he *sailed* from Lisbon for Huelva where he had relatives, but was driven by storm to Palos, and then walked by La Rabida to Huelva.—H.)

assisted the adventurer to proceed on his way to Seville. Further encouragement was soon found in the patronage and hospitality of the great La Cerda, Count, afterwards (1492) Duke, of Medina Celi;[1] and in the spring of 1486 Columbus, who had by that time adopted the Spanish patronymic of Colon, was presented to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella.[2] The fair-haired blue-eyed Genoese stood face to face with the fair-haired blue-eyed Castilian.

Instinctively attracted, as she was, by great men of any kind, unerring in her choice of ministers and councillors, Isabella may have sympathised with Columbus; but she was entirely incapable of understanding his speculations.[3] Yet the man himself at once commanded her attention.

Of almost heroic stature, in dignity of presence scarce inferior

[1] The duke and count were almost equal in rank among the Goths; the titles were frequently united in the same noble. In the eighth Council of Toledo, some of the Palatines sign as *Comes et Dux*. This double title was borne by Olivarez, the celebrated minister of Philip IV., better known in Spain as the *Conde Duque*. It was resumed by the late Duchess of Osuna, who, being Countess of Benavente in her own right, entitled herself "La Condesa Duquesa". To have called herself "Duchess Countess" would have sounded in her Castilian ears as an heraldic *bathos*, although she derived grandeeship from each title alike, and knew, of course, that the style of count in olden times was almost royal. Although the title of duke necessarily implies grandeeship, it by no means follows that every grandee is a duke; many are only marquises or counts; Alcañices (who, however, is also Duke of Sexto.—H.), Puñorostro, Chinchon and others. "Title, in fact, is of no importance; the real rank consists in being a grandee, who are all perfectly equal amongst each other. Formerly there existed three classes of grandeeship; the first, *la primera clase* (into which the other two have been absorbed), put on their hats in the royal presence *before* the king spoke to them; the second class covered themselves *after* the king had spoken to them; the third remained bareheaded until the king had spoken to them and they had answered."

These divisions into orders and classes, each of less dignity than another, were so many gradual processes by which the kings contrived to break down the remnant of *Rico-Ombria*, by making rank more and more dependent on the crown. The rank of grandeeship is conferred, not by giving a camp kettle, as in the case of older titles in Spain, but by the king addressing the individual with the word *cubrid-os*, cover yourself; whence the dignity is, as in the case of a cardinal, called a hat, from the tendency to materialise everything, and respect the form, emblem and substance, more than the essence, spirit and principle. The civility shown to the hat of a visitor is very marked among the formal gentry of the provinces of Spain. *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 105, article by Richard Ford.

[2] It should be explained that after ineffectually applying to the head of the Guzmans, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Columbus addressed himself to Medina-Celi, who undertook to fit out an expedition for him. When this came to the ears of the Sovereigns they considered that the project should not be in private hands, and Columbus was summoned to court at Cordova, where he arrived in January, 1486, three months before the monarchs, whom he first saw in May, 1486.—H.

[3] In the whole of Peter Martyr's voluminous correspondence upon almost every possible question or matter, done, spoken of, or even thought of at the court of Isabella, no reference whatever is made to Columbus or to his scheme before his return from his first voyage.

to the Queen of Castile, as proud as he was enthusiastic, and in good sooth one of the great ones of the earth, Columbus was easily recognised by Isabella as a man eminently worthy of her patronage; and he was permitted to unfold his schemes. The queen was pleased, if not convinced; and the project was once more referred to an ecclesiastical council, under the presidency of Talavera, the queen's confessor.

The report was entirely adverse. The scheme was pronounced to be impracticable, if not impious. The stranger's geographical theories indeed savoured of heresy; and had it not been that Talavera was one of the mildest of Churchmen, the speculator might have been handed over to the tender mercies of the Holy Office. Yet, it was due to another ecclesiastic, himself to be known in later years as one of the most vigorous rulers of the Spanish Inquisition, that Columbus did not at once quit Spain in disgust.

Diego Deza, a distinguished doctor of Salamanca, then occupied the honourable and important office of tutor to the Prince of Asturias, and the adventurer, dismissed by Talavera and disregarded by his royal mistress, contrived in some way to find favour in the sight of the future Grand Inquisitor of Spain. The court had moved from Cordova to Salamanca. Columbus followed. The sovereigns gave no further encouragement. Many of the noble courtiers, however, Cardinal Mendoza, the good Count of Tendilla, Alfonso de Quintillana, and others of less importance, took a kindly interest in the schemes of the stranger, and provided for his material necessities. But the court and the council showed no favour to the great geographer. A fairer face it was than that of Guzman or of Mendoza that kept Columbus a willing prisoner in Spain, in spite of all his disappointments and rebuffs.

Beatriz de Arana, the mother of his son Ferdinand, whether she was lawfully married to Columbus or no, was in every respect a worthy, as she was an affectionate companion, and she was honoured and cherished by her great lover all the days of his life. And in her society he found solace and encouragement, during five long years of royal and official neglect. Meanwhile, his younger brother Bartholomew, who had sought in vain the countenance of Henry VII. of England, had betaken himself in search of better fortune to the court of Anne de Beaujeu, the Regent of France. But neither in Spain nor in France did the scheme find favour with the palace.

1488 passed away, 1489, 1490, and at length Christobal Colon, well-nigh forgotten at the court of Castile, determined to join his brother in Paris. Yet he would bid farewell, ere he started, to his earliest friend in Spain, the young Fray Antonio Marchena at La Rabida. And in July, 1491, just seven years after he had first knocked at the gate of Palos, he once more presented himself at the old convent by the Rio Tinto.

It was a turning point in the history of the world. For within the walls of La Rabida was Fray Juan Perez, now superior of the monastery, once confessor to the Queen of Castile; and ere Columbus turned his back for ever upon Spain, the good priest heard his story, and saw, as no man had yet seen in Europe, the transcendent importance of his speculations.

Isabella was with the army before Granada—in the camp city of Santa Fé—200 miles, as the crow flies, from the monastery of La Rabida. But old Juan Perez was not daunted by distance. He mounted his mule, and made straight for the queen's camp. It was a noble journey, even though the friar knew not, as he rode across mountain and river, that he carried with him the fortune of Spain.[1] The ex-confessor knew how to speak to the queen. Columbus was summoned to the camp. His designs were pronounced reasonable, if they were not wholly approved. His position was at least recognised at court. But still nothing was done. Was not the destruction of the Infidel worth all the discoveries in the world? Thus, with hope ever deferred, another year passed away. At length on the 2nd of January, 1492, the Christians entered Granada. And then Columbus, ever expectant, pleaded for the favour and approbation of the victorious Isabella. His suit was well received. The queen was inclined to patronise the proposed expedition. Columbus should sail to the west. The terms of his engagement only were referred to Talavera; and the Churchman, still hostile, reported that the demands of the

[1] This is an imperfect account of what took place. The sworn evidence of the physician Garci Hermandez of Palos, in Diego Colon's suit against the crown, says that F. Perez sent a letter to the queen by a pilot named Sebastian Rodriguez, telling her of Columbus' intention of going to France, and representing his case: "and they detained Christobal Colon at the convent, until they could receive her highness's answer". The answer was a summons to Perez to come to court, "and he departed secretly at midnight". He appears to have explained Columbus' plans thoroughly to the queen, perhaps for the first time, and Isabella determined to give the aid asked. She at once sent Columbus a present of 2000 maravedis in order that he might "buy a decent suit of clothes in which to appear before her highness".—H.

adventurer were impossible[1] Columbus bowed his head, and set forth to seek the favour and protection of some other sovereign.

Six miles from Granada, a bridge known as the Puente de Piños spans the little river Xenil, the scene of many an affray between Moor and Christian during the last war of Granada. So far had Columbus proceeded on his journey in search of new patrons, when a royal messenger overtook him and compelled him to return to the court.[2]

Once again the Genoese stood before the Queen of Castile. But this time he spoke, not as a suppliant, but as a benefactor; and when he left the royal presence, it was as Admiral of the Ocean, Viceroy and Governor-General of the Countries of the West.

On the 12th of May, 1492, Columbus turned his head westward from Granada, and set out to seek and to find a new world. He was forty-six years of age. His golden hair had become grey from care and disappointment. But he was no less eager, no less energetic, no less confident than on the day that he first set foot in Lisbon eighteen years before. The munificence of the Spanish sovereigns, which it had taken eight years to provoke, consisted in an order to the people of Palos to supply two caravels, without payment, for the queen's use, as a punishment for some real or fancied misdemeanour committed in days gone by.[3] The royal vessels, thus cheaply provided, consisted of the *Pinta* of fifty tons burden, and the *Niña* of forty tons; a strange squadron for the discovery of a distant hemisphere. When the Princess Joanna had sailed from Laredo to

[1] They were in fact quite impossible and against public policy, as a perusal of them will prove. They were accepted at last by Ferdinand, doubtless in order to prevent Columbus from going elsewhere, but the king, it is clear, had no intention of fulfilling them and did not attempt to do so. There is reason to believe that the extravagant demands of Columbus were the cause of his repulse by John II. of Portugal.—H.

[2] It was the Marquesa de Moya, a lady attached to the queen's household, who is said to have persuaded Isabella to summon back the departing Columbus. Thus after eight years of weary waiting, he at length gained his point. By the terms of his capitulation with the sovereigns at Granada, he and his heirs for ever were created admirals of the ocean, viceroys and governor-generals of all the islands and continents he should discover. He was to have one-tenth of all the precious metals discovered within his jurisdiction, and the privilege of receiving an eighth share of the profits made by any ship in which he should have—as he might have in all cases—an eighth share as adventurer.

[3] This hardly seems just. The large sum of 176,000 silver reals was advanced from the royal treasury of *Aragon* on the personal responsibility of Ferdinand's Jewish financial secretary Sant Angel, who lent them to the monarchs and became answerable for the amount to the treasury. This sum was paid to Columbus for the fitting-out of the expedition.—H.

the Texel she had been convoyed by a squadron of 130 vessels. When Columbus sailed to discover America two coasting sloops were accounted an appropriate fleet. A more important ship, however, and one of no less than 100 tons burden, the *Santa Maria*, was provided by a private adventurer of Palos, Juan de la Cosa, whose ambition had been fired by the splendid speculations of Columbus.

Of the difficulties in fitting out the expedition, of the want of sailors, of the want of stores, of the want of money, of the voyage itself, of the discovery, of the return to Spain, of the thousand moving incidents of the journey, I may not speak here. The tale is old, but ever new; one of the great world stories of our race, fascinating, exciting, tremendous. But I may not cross the broad Atlantic even in a Spanish ship.

II.—*The Admiral of the Ocean.*

It was in the palace of the Bishop of Urgel at Barcelona, on May Day of the year 1493, that Ferdinand and Isabella received their triumphant admiral and his great tidings from the West.[1] That Ferdinand and Isabella should each of them have failed to realise the full importance of the discovery is scarcely surprising. To our own experienced understanding the infinite possibilities of the new world seem well calculated to arouse the imagination of the dullest of statesmen, to fire the ambition of the coolest of politicians in Europe. But the picture as we see it was not presented to the Spanish sovereigns. A few islands had apparently been discovered, and a new highway perhaps to the Indies. It was satisfactory at least that the voyage had been undertaken in a Spanish ship. The conversion of a few Indians and the spread of the True Faith would, of course, be pleasing to Isabella. The acquisition of a few nuggets and some possible commercial developments would doubtless be agreeable to Ferdinand. It was not to be supposed that either sovereign knew or even dreamed of continents in which Spain or France would rank but as districts or counties, whose rivers would swallow up Tagus or Ebro as the wand of Aaron swallowed up the wands of the Egyptians, and

[1] He reached Lisbon on the 4th of March, Palos on the 15th of March, and he entered Seville on Palm Sunday, 1493. The sovereigns had been at Barcelona since the end of 1492. In December an assault upon the king's person had been made by a madman; and for some days his life had been despaired of. But Isabella proved the best of nurses, and the wound quickly healed.

whose hidden greatness was to change the fortunes of the world.

Ferdinand was thus far more concerned with his negotiations with Italy and with Maximilian of Hapsburg, with his endeavours to hoodwink Henry of England and to outwit Charles of France, than with the prosecution of discovery or adventure in any unknown land. Yet he found time to show some favour to the discoverer. Isabella, as the more direct patron of Columbus, was necessarily pleased at the success of his expedition, even though she showed no extraordinary appreciation of the immensity of the prospect before her. But one Spaniard at least was found to rise to the greatness of the occasion—the Valencian priest who sat upon the throne of the Cæsars. Immediately on hearing of the success of Columbus, Roderic Borgia proclaimed the unknown continent of the West to be a part of his empire; and, drawing a line across the ocean from pole to pole, 100 leagues to the west of the Azores, he granted to his countrymen in Spain the whole world, discovered or to be discovered, to the westward of this magnificent limit.[1]

Columbus meanwhile was treated with the utmost consideration and distinction at Barcelona. He was confirmed in his title and offices. He was flattered by the king and queen. He was encouraged to undertake a second expedition with all possible despatch. At the same time, an office or department for the administration of all business connected with the western world was established at Seville.[2] Juan Fonseca, archdeacon of that diocese, was appointed chief superintendent of this Council of the Indies; and long before the great Admiral had been permitted to set out on his second voyage, he had been made to feel the chill and jealous influence of his new masters, even as every discoverer, inventor, or man of genius, as every admiral, and general, and man of action has been made to suffer in modern times at the hands of an insolent bureaucracy.

A Colonial Office, manned entirely by clerics, making up by

[1] The great practical effect of this prompt exercise of power was that the foreign possessions of Portugal and of Spain could be clearly distinguished: the Portuguese discoveries so far having been all very far to the east of the Papal line. And in spite of geographical ignorance, this magnificent division of an unknown world between the jealous rivals in Europe was a most admirable and successful exercise of imperial authority or Cæsarism. The actual map, marked with the pen of Alexander, is still shown at the Vatican.

[2] An interesting and valuable account of this institution and of the early colonial arrangements of Spain will be found in Manuel Danvila's *Casa de Contratacion de Sevilla y el Consejo Supremo de Indias.*—H.

necessary ignorance and limitless presumption, for the want of those obstructive traditions which are the stay of modern departments, was quite competent to vex the soul and impede the progress of the great Genoese, even though the enthusiasm of the admiral was patient, rather than excitable, in its character. Every obstacle was offered by the new India Office to the proposals and wishes of Columbus. Everything that he wanted was for some good official reason denied; and that which he knew to be useless was forced upon him in its stead. Isabella, who to the equipment of an army devoted days and nights of unremitting personal labour and supervision, was content to commit the destinies of the new world to an insolent archdeacon.

In May, 1493, the admiral took leave of the sovereigns, in order that he might superintend the operations at Seville; and in spite of all official objections and difficulties, a fleet of three ships and fourteen caravels, was by the end of September, prepared and made ready for sea.

Not one ecclesiastic had sailed with Columbus on his first voyage of discovery. Fray Bernardo Boil, with three subordinate friars, all hostile and disloyal to the viceroy, accompanied the second expedition; and a learned doctor of medicine, Diego Alvarez Chanca, whose narrative of the voyage has been largely drawn upon by Bernaldez in his Chronicle of the Catholic kings, sailed in the admiral's ship. The influence of Columbus, however, was allowed to prevail in the selection of some of the leaders of the *Armada*. Pedro de Arana, the brother of the lovely Beatriz, had the command of one of the vessels; and the admiral's own brother Diego took ship with him in the *Marigalante*. The father of the good bishop Las Casas accompanied the expedition as a "Councillor". But the most remarkable man who sailed with the fleet, after Columbus himself, was Alfonso de Ojeda, of Cuenca. Not yet twenty-one years of age, says a modern writer,[1] active, energetic, of extraordinary bodily strength and personal courage, he combined a cool head with a dare-devil love of danger and adventure; and he played a leading part in the early history of New Spain.

The number of volunteers for the voyage, however, was far greater than could have been accommodated in a fleet of fifty sail; and the number of candidates was reduced by official selection to 1500 men, who were alone to be permitted to take

[1] Clements Markham, *Columbus*, p. 144.

part in the expedition. But the selection was the worst that could have been made. Instead of artisans and labourers, manufacturers or mariners, gentlemen of honour and probity, or even the hardy peasants of Biscay and Gallicia—who in the present century have proved the mainstay of the most flourishing of the South American Republics—reckless and needy adventurers, unscrupulous seekers after gold, speculators, spendthrifts, haters of work, no colonists, but a horde of depredators, these were the men selected by the new department at Seville to harass the ever-patient admiral, and to ravage a new world. These were the men who lived to sow the seeds of shame in Spanish America. And the harvest, the most dreadful of which it has been given to this world to see the growth—is not yet fully reaped, or bound into bundles for the fire. With such a company it would have been impossible for any man to colonise an island, much less that unhappy world, to which Spain sent not peace or prosperity, but the sword of the tyrant, the heavy and reckless hand of the destroyer.

On the 25th of September of the same year, 1493, Alexander VI. issued his third Bull, once more investing the Spaniards with the sovereignty of the new world; and on the same day the Spanish fleet set sail from the Bay of Cadiz. An attempted expedition of the Portuguese had been prevented by the diplomatic remonstrances of Ferdinand; nor was the King of Portugal aware of the importance of the Spanish preparations and projects, until he heard that their second fleet had actually sailed. After much bickering on either side, a convention was held at Tordesillas, in June, 1494, when the Papal line of demarcation was, by the favour of the Spanish sovereigns, moved from *one hundred* to *three hundred and seventy* leagues to the westward of the Cape de Verd Islands; by virtue of which concession, the Lusitanians in later years laid claim to the noble empire of Brazil. Had Columbus on his first voyage steered south-south-west instead of nearly due west, he would have made Cape St. Roque or Paranahyba on the Continent of South America, hard on 1000 miles nearer Palos than the island on which he first planted the banner of Castile; and the history not only of two countries, but of two worlds, would have been changed.[1]

[1] On the 14th of April, 1494, the sovereigns nominated the admiral's brother Bartholomew, who had lately arrived from his fruitless visit to France and England, to the command of a third squadron of three caravels which sailed in the wake of the greater fleet.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE BANISHMENT OF THE JEWS.

I.

The fall of Granada left the Catholic sovereigns free to turn their attention more completely to the domestic affairs of the kingdom; and it seems moreover to have increased the bigotry both of the Church and of the court, and to have added new zeal to the fury of the Inquisition.

The conquest of the Moorish kingdom was said by pious ecclesiastics to be a special sign or manifestation of the approval by heaven of the recent institution of the Holy Office. The knights and nobles, proud of their military successes, may have attributed the victory to causes more flattering to their valour, their skill and their perseverance. The common people, as yet not demoralised, but gorged with plunder, and invited to occupy without purchase the fairest province in the Peninsula, were little disposed to quarrel with the policy of Ferdinand; and far from feeling any pity for the sufferings of the vanquished Moors, they sighed for new infidels to pillage. And new infidels were promptly found.[1]

The Inquisition so far had troubled itself but little with Christian heretics. The early Spanish Protestantism of the thirteenth century had died away. The later Spanish Protes-

[1] The rigours of the Inquisition had already, between 1481 and 1492, led to a considerable emigration of Jews, a fact that I do not remember to have anywhere seen alluded to. Thus the number of those that perished or were destroyed in the summer of 1492 is very far from representing the total loss to Spain, by royal and ecclesiastical persecution. "In Xerez, Seville and Cordova alone," says Bergenroth, *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), vol. i., 47, 4000 homesteads were deserted. The queen was implored to relent. But she answered that it was better for the service of God and herself to have the country depopulated than to have it polluted by heresy. Persecution even hunted the fugitives in foreign countries. The King of Naples, for instance, was requested in a tone of command, to torture and put to death all those who would not at once deliver up the small remnant of fortune that they had saved. *Calendar, ubi supra.*

tantism of the sixteenth century had not yet come into existence. Few men had done more than Averroës of Cordova and Ramon Lull of Palma to awaken religious thought in mediæval Europe; yet speculative theology has never been popular among the Spanish people. It was against the Jews, renegade or relapsed, even more than the avowedly unconverted, that the Holy Office directed all its exertions until the end of the fifteenth century. By April, 1492, although a great number of the unfortunate Hebrews had already found their way to the *Quemadero*, there was still a very large Jewish population in Spain, the most industrious, the most intelligent, the most orderly, but unhappily for themselves, the most wealthy of all the inhabitants of the Peninsula.

The Spanish Jews, as we have seen, were treated on the arrival of the Arab conquerors not only with consideration, but with an amount of favour that was not extended to them under any other government in the world; nor was this wise liberality, as time went on, displayed only by the Moslem in Spain. At the Christian courts of Leon, of Castile, and of Catalonia, the Jews were welcomed as lenders of money and as healers of diseases, and as men skilled in many industrial arts; and they supplied what little science was required in northern Spain, while their brethren shared in the magnificent culture and extended studies of Cordova. When the rule of the Arab declined, and Alfonso *el Sabio* held his court at southern Seville, the learned Jews were his chosen companions. They certainly assisted him in the preparation of his great astronomical tables. They probably assisted him in his translation of the Bible.[1]

Nor does this court favour appear to have caused any serious jealousy among Christian Spaniards. The fellow-student of Alfonso X., the trusted treasurer of Peter the Cruel, the accommodating banker of many a king and many a noble—the Jew was for some time a personage of importance rather than a refugee in the Peninsula. And during the whole of the thirteenth century, while the Jews were exposed throughout

[1] This translation was said to have been made from the Hebrew direct. See *ante*, vol. i., chapter xxvi.

Jusqu'au commencement du quinzième siècle, les trois religions qui se partagaient la Péninsule subsistaient sans querelles. Les rois de Castille prenaient des Juifs pour leurs trésoriers et leur médecins, des Maures pour leurs ingénieurs et leurs architectes. Personne ne refusait le "*don*" à un riche Israélite ni à un émir musulman. Je ne vois aucune trace de persécution, si ce n'est dans les prises des villes, où le vainqueur pillait de préference le quartier juif; et il est permis de douter que le fanatisme y eut autant de part que la cupidité. P. Mérimée, *Mélanges Historiques et Littéraires* (ed. 1876), p. 250.

western Europe[1] to the most dreadful and systematic persecutions, they enjoyed in Spain not only immunity, but protection, not only religious freedom, but political consideration.

They were particularly regarded under Alfonso XI., and even under Peter the Cruel, who, though he tortured and robbed his Hebrew treasurer, did not at any time display his natural ferocity in any form of religious persecution. Yet, as we are told that his rival and successor, Henry of Trastamara, sought popular favour by molesting the Jews, it would seem that already by the end of the fourteenth century they were becoming unpopular in Castile. But on the whole, throughout the Peninsula, from the time of James I. of Aragon, who is said to have studied ethics under a Jewish professor, to the time of John II. of Castile, who employed a Jewish secretary in the compilation of a national *Cancionero*, or ballad book, the Jews were not only distinguished, but encouraged, in literature and abstract science, as they had always been in the more practical pursuits of medicine and of commerce.[2]

But in less than a century after the death of Alfonso X. the tide of fortune had turned. Their riches increased over-much in a disturbed and impoverished commonwealth, and public indignation began to be displayed, rather at their un-Christian

[1] See Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, ed. Löwy, tom. iv., p. 110-124; and Rodocanachi, *Le Saint Siège et les Juifs* (ed. 1891), cap. v.

[2] For an account of the prosperous condition of the Jews in Spain from 1284 to 1388, see Amador de los Rios, *Hist. de los Judios en España*, tom. i., chap. iii.

The Jews of necessity became money-lenders, partly owing to so many legitimate trades and professions being closed to them, and still more owing to the insane prohibitions of successive Popes, directed against the taking of even the smallest interest by Christians on money lent under any circumstances. See particularly Bull of Alexander III., 1179, *ad hoc*; and decree of Clement V. in Council of Vienne, 1311, *apud* Döllinger, *Studies*, translated by Miss Warre (1890), pp. 224-6. Up to this time, according to Dr. Döllinger, the Jews had been an industrial and an agricultural, and by no means a purely mercantile, still less a purely money-lending, people. See also Dr. William Cunningham, *Christian Opinion on Usury* (1884). Gregory VII. called upon Alfonso VI. to dismiss the Jews from all judicial posts in the realm, but the Papal mandate was disregarded, and the Jews continued to flourish under the toleration and patronage of kings and nobles. Hefele, *Life of Ximenes*, cap. xiv. For the share of the learned Jews in the works of Alfonso X., and notably in the preparation of the Alfonsine Tables, see Amador de los Rios, *Hist. de los Judios en España*, vol. ii., chaps. iii. and iv. An historian of our own days, D. Vicente de Lafuente, is less tolerant than his ancestors in the fifteenth century; for in the year of grace 1870, he writes of the Spanish Jews of the Middle Ages as *a secret society*, and devotes a chapter to dilating, without reference or authority, upon their enormities, including the stealing of Christian children for the purposes of crucifixion, and other malevolent old wives' tales, that I had fondly thought were no longer credited by any man who could read and write, in Europe. *Hist. de las Sociedades Secretas en España*, por Don Vicente de Lafuente, Lugo (1870), pp. 54-63.

opulence than at their Jewish faith. Inquisition was made rather into their strong-boxes than into their theology; and it was their debtors and their rivals, rather than any religious purists, who towards the end of the fourteenth century, more especially in Aragon, stirred up those popular risings against their race that led to the massacres and the wholesale *conversions* of 1391.[1] The first attack that was made upon the persons and property of the Jews was in 1388, and it was no doubt provoked by the preaching of the fanatic archdeacon Hernando Martinez, at Seville. But it was in no wise religious in its character, and was aimed chiefly at the acquisition and destruction of the property of the rich and prosperous Hebrews. The outbreaks which took place almost simultaneously in all parts of Spain were disapproved both by kings and councils. Special judges were sent to the disturbed cities, and a considerable amount of real protection was extended to the plundered people. No one said a word about conversion; or at least the conversion was that of ancient Pistol, the conversion of the property of the Jews into the possession of the Christians.[2] When the Jewish quarter of Barcelona was sacked by the populace, and an immense number of Hebrews were despoiled and massacred throughout the country, John of Aragon, indolent though he was, used his utmost endeavours to check the slaughter. He punished the aggressors, and he even caused a restitution of goods to be made to such of the victims as survived.

The preaching of St. Vincent Ferrer, during the early part of the fifteenth century, was addressed largely to the Jews in Spain, but little or no religious persecution seems to have been directed against them in consequence of his harangues. On the contrary, we read of friendly conferences or public disputations between Jewish and Christian doctors in Aragon, where the Inquisition was, at least, nominally established. Such conferences could hardly be expected to convince or convert the advocates of either faith, but they tell at least of an amount of toleration on the part of the Christian authorities of the

[1] Basnage, *Histoire des Juifs* (1716), lib. vii., cap. v.; Castro, *Bibl. Esp.*, i., pp. 116 and 265. As to the dreadful theories or legends of the systematic murder by the Jews of Christian children, of their desecration of the consecrated wafer, and other forms of supposed sacrilege, legends apparently current in France and Germany long before they passed into Spain, see Döllinger, *Studies*, ed. Miss Warre (1890), pp. 222-225. Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, i., 630.

[2] "*Cobdicia de robar, y no devocion*," according to Ayala. *Cf.* Menendez Pelayo, *ubi supra*.

day, that was certainly not to be found in Spain at the close of the century; and there is no doubt that they were followed by a very large number of conversions of the more malleable members of the Hebrew community. But it is a far cry from Saint Vincent Ferrer to the uncanonised Tomas de Torquemada.[1]

Yet, even in outward conformity to the established religion, the Jews, as time went on, found no permanent safety from persecution and plunder. John II. indeed had little of the bigot in his composition;[2] it was politics and not persecution that, under his successor, engrossed the attention of clergy and laity in Castile; but, as soon as the power of Isabella was formally established, the destruction of all that was not orthodox, Catholic and Spanish, became the key-note of the domestic policy of the new government of Spain.

II.

The earliest efforts of the Spanish Inquisition were directed, as we have seen, almost exclusively against those converted Jews, or the sons and daughters of converts, who were known by the expressive name of New Christians, a title applied also to Christianised Moslems, and which distinguished both classes from the Old Christians or *Cristianos Viejos*, who could boast of a pure Castilian ancestry. These new Christians, as a whole, at the end of the fifteenth century, were among the richest, the most industrious, and the most intelligent of the population, and they were regarded with considerable envy by their poorer neighbours, whose blue blood did not always bring with it either wealth or fortune.[3] The rules and regulations for the guidance of the inquisitors were therefore specially framed to include every possible act or thought that might bring the members of the classes specially aimed at within the deadly category of the relapsed. If the "New Christian" wore a clean

[1] Lindo (*History of Jews in Spain*, 1849, p. 211); and *ibid.*, pp. 188-196.

[2] The *Pragmatica* of Arevalo granted by John II., 6th April, 1443, by the terms of which he placed under his special protection *y como cosa suya y de su camara*, all the Jews of Castile, put an end for the time being to the dangers arising from popular cupidity, by taking the Jews under the special protection of the crown. "*Elle ouvrait aux Juifs les anciennes voies de prosperité, et sans leur donner une importance préjudiciable à l'Etat, fournissait un aliment à leur activité et mettait à profit leurs connaissances des arts mécaniques.*" Amador de los Rios, *Hist. des Juifs d'Espagne* (ed. Magnabal), vol. i., pp. 113-115. See also Lafuente, ix., 223.

[3] Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, tom. i., 624-639, and tom. ii., 586.

shirt, or spread clean table-linen on a Saturday (Art. 4), if he ate meat in Lent (7), observed any of the Jewish fasts (8-17), or sat at table with any Jew of his acquaintance (19); if he recited one of the psalms of David without the addition of the Doxology (20), if he caused his child to be baptised under a Hebrew name (23), he was to be treated as a renegade and condemned to the flames.[1]

With every act of his life thus at the mercy of spies and informers, his last end was not unobserved by the Dominicans and the Familiars of the Holy Office. If in the article of death he turned his weary face (31) to the wall of his chamber, he was adjudged relapsed, and all his possessions were forfeit; or if the sorrowing children of even the most unexceptionable convert had washed his dead body with warm water (32) they were to be treated as apostates and heretics, and were at least liable to suffer death by fire, after their goods had been appropriated by the Holy Office or by the crown.[2]

In the sentences which condemned to the stake, to confiscation, and to penances, which were punishments of the severest description, we find enumerated such offences as the avoiding the use of fat, and especially of lard; preparing amive, a kind of broth much appreciated by the Jews; or eating "Passover bread"; reading, or even possessing a Hebrew Bible; ignorance of the Pater noster and the Creed; saying that a good Jew could be saved, and a thousand other equally harmless deeds or words.[3]

But with the professed and avowed Jew, unpopular as he may have been with his neighbours, and exposed at times to various forms of civil and religious outrage, the Holy Office did not directly concern itself.[4] The Hebrew, like the Moslem, was outside the pale even of Christian inquiry.

[1] Yet by a law of Henry II. a Jew was forbidden to give Christian names to his children. *Ordenanzas Reales*, viii., tit. iii., leg. 26. He must have found it, says Prescott, difficult to extricate himself from the horns of this dilemma. *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., cap. vii.

[2] Llorente, i., chap. v., art. 3.

[3] Mr. Lea, *Chapters from the History of Spain*, ed. 1890, pp. 470, 471, after giving his authority for these and a great number of other cases, from the records of the Inquisition at Saragossa, between 1488 and 1502, continues: "In one case the only crime asserted in the sentence of a woman was that she had been present at the wedding of a Jew—her brother. In another it was alleged against the penitent that when very sick his sister had told him to commend himself to the God of Abraham, and that he had returned no answer. In another, it was gravely asserted that the offender, when dealing with *Old Christians*, tried to cheat them, and rejoiced when he succeeded.

[4] *C'est contre les judaisants ou juifs chrétiens en apparence (juifs cachés) et non contre les vrais juifs*, says Hefele, *il faut bien remarquer, que l'Inquisition procéda,*

There is no doubt that it was the success of the operations against the Moors of Granada that suggested to Ferdinand and Isabella the undertaking of a campaign, easier by far, and scarcely less lucrative, against the unhappy descendants of Abraham who had made their home in Spain.

The annual revenue that was derived by the Catholic sovereigns from the confiscations of the Inquisition amounted to a considerable income; and the source as yet showed no signs of drying up. Yet cupidity, marching hand in hand with intolerance—the devil, as the Spanish proverb has it, ever lurking behind the Cross—the sovereigns resolved upon the perpetration of an act or state more dreadful than the most comprehensive of the *Autos de Fé*.

The work of the Holy Office was too slow. The limits of the *Quemadero* were too small. Half a million Jews yet lived unbaptised in Spain. They should be destroyed at a single blow.[1] The Inquisition might be left to reckon with the New Christians whose conversion was unsatisfactory.

As soon as the Spanish Jews obtained an intimation of what was contemplated against them, they took steps to propitiate the sovereigns by a tender of a donative of 30,000 ducats, towards defraying the expenses of the Moorish war; and an influential Jewish leader is said to have waited upon Ferdinand and Isabella, in their quarters at Sante Fé, to urge the acceptance of the bribe. The negotiations, however, were suddenly interrupted by Torquemada, who burst into the apartment where the sovereigns were giving audience to the Jewish deputy, and drawing forth a crucifix from beneath his mantle, held it up, exclaiming, "Judas Iscariot sold his Master for thirty pieces of silver; your Highnesses would sell Him anew for 30.000; here He is, take Him and barter Him away". The extravagant presumption of the Inquisitor-General would not perhaps have been as successful as it was, had it not been obvious to the covetous Ferdinand that 30,000 ducats was a trifle compared with the plunder of the entire body of Jews in Spain. Yet

Hefele, 286. This exclusiveness did not last long; although, as it was technically the royal and not the ecclesiastical authority that *proceeded against* the Jews in 1492, the apologists of the Holy Office may maintain that true Jews were never persecuted by the Inquisition. See on this point Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, tom. i., pp. 625-639.

[1] "The declaration of Innocent III. that the entire Jewish nation was destined by God, on account of its sins, to perpetual slavery, was the Magna Charta, continually appealed to by those who coveted the possessions of the Jews, and the earnings of their industry." Döllinger, *Studies*, trans. Miss Warre, 1890, p. 219.

the action of Torquemada was no doubt calculated to affect the superstitious mind of Isabella, and even the colder spirit of Ferdinand.

Whatever may have been the scruples of the Spanish sovereigns, the fanaticism of the Spanish people had been at this critical juncture stirred up to an unusual pitch of fury by the proceedings and the reports of the Holy Office in a case which has attracted an amount of attention so entirely disproportionate to its apparent importance that it merits something more than a passing notice.[1]

In June, 1490, a converted Jew of the name of Benito Garcia, on his way back from a pilgrimage to Compostella, was waylaid and robbed near Astorga, by some of the Christian inhabitants. A Jew, converted or otherwise, was a legitimate object of plunder. The contents of his knapsack not being entirely satisfactory, and the ecclesiastical authorities sniffing sacrilege in what was supposed to be a piece of the consecrated wafer, Garcia, and not the robbers, was arrested, subjected to incredible tortures, and finally handed over to the local inquisitors.

His case was heard with that of other *conversos;* first at Segovia and afterwards at Avila. Tortures were repeated. Spies were introduced in various guises and disguises, but no confession could be extorted.

At length, after a year and a half of such practices, the endurance of one of the accused gave way—the dreadful story affords some slight notion of the methods of the Inquisition—and the unhappy man invented a tale in accordance with what was demanded of him; the crucifixion of a Christian child; the tearing out of his heart, the theft of the Host from a Christian church, and a magical incantation over the dreadful elements, directed against Christianity, and more particularly against the Holy Office. The tribunal having been thus satisfied of the guilt of the accused, a solemn *Auto de Fé* was held at Avila, on the 16th of November, 1491, when two of the convicts were torn to death with red-hot pincers; three who had been more mercifully permitted to die under the preliminary tortures, were burnt in effigy; while the remaining prisoners were visited only with the slight punishment of strangulation before their consignment to the inevitable fire. That no boy, with or without a

[1] See *Eng. Hist. Review*, 1889. *Boletin de la Real Acad. de Historia*, volumes for July to September, 1887.

heart, could be found or invented, by the most rigorous examination; that no Christian child had disappeared from the neighbourhood of the unhappy Jews at the time of their arrest—this surprised no one. In matters of faith such evidences were wholly superfluous. *Secura judicat Ecclesia.*

That these poor Hebrews should have suffered torture and death for an imaginary sacrilege upon the person of an imaginary boy, was indeed a thing by no means unexampled in the history of religious fanaticism.[1] But the sequel is certainly extraordinary. With a view of exciting the indignation of the sovereigns and of the people against the Jews at an important moment, Torquemada devoted much attention to the publication throughout Spain of the dreadful story of the murdered boy, the *Niño* of *La Guardia,* the village where the crime is supposed to have taken place. As to the name of the victim the authorities did not agree. Some maintained that it was Christopher, while others declared for John. But the recital of the awful wickedness of the Jews lost none of its force by adverse criticism. The legend spread from altar to altar throughout the country. The *Niño de la Guardia* at once became a popular hero, in course of time a popular saint; miracles were freely worked upon the spot where his remains had not been found, and something over a century later (1613) his canonisation was demanded of Rome.[2]

His remains, it was asserted by Francisco de Quevedo, could not be found on earth, only because his body as well as his soul had been miraculously carried up to heaven, where it was the most powerful advocate and protector of the Spanish monarchy. The story, moreover, has been twice dramatised—once by Lope de Vega—and no less than three admiring biographies of this imaginary martyr have been published in Spain within the last forty years of this nineteenth century.[3]

[1] Strange as it may seem, this belief that Jews torture and murder Christian children has not even yet quite died out from rural Spain. Only a few years ago great excitement was caused in the kingdom of Valencia by the fear that Christian children were caught and killed in order that their fat might be used to anoint the telegraph wires, then being erected. The English especially were suspected of this crime.—H.

[2] The Holy See, indeed, with great wisdom, appears never to have formally admitted his claims; though it is said to have permitted indulgences, plenary or partial, to be granted to those who visited his churches and altars; and he is regularly styled *Santo* in the Papal Briefs. See Martinez Moreno, 10, 16, 101, 106, 109.

[3] The biographies referred to are those of Martin Martinez Moreno, 1785; Paulino Herrera, 1853; Moreno, reprinted, 1866; and Felipe Garcia, 1883.

Cf. Fidel Fita, *Boletin*, xi., 112, 156; *Eng. Hist. Review, ubi supra;* H. C.

At length from conquered Granada, on the 30th of March, 1492, the dreadful edict went forth. By the 30th of July not a Jew was to be left alive in Spain. Sisenand, indeed, 900 years before, had promulgated such an edict. But the Visigoth had been too tender-hearted to enforce it. Isabella, whose gentleness and goodness historians are never tired of applauding, was influenced by no such considerations, and the sentence was carried out to the letter. With a cruel irony, the banished people were permitted to sell their property, yet forbidden to carry the money out of the kingdom, a provision which has obtained the warm approval of more than one modern Spanish historian, by whom it is accepted as a conclusive proof that this wholesale depopulation did not and could not diminish the wealth of Spain!

Thus 200,000 Spaniards, men, women and children of tender years, rich and poor, men of refinement and of position, ladies reared in luxury, the aged, the sick, the infirm, all were included in one common destruction, and were driven, stripped of everything, from their peaceful homes, to die on their way to some less savage country. For the sentence was carried out with the most relentless ferocity. Every road to the coast, we read, was thronged with the unhappy fugitives, struggling to carry off some shred of their ruined homes. To succour them was death; to pillage them was piety. At every seaport, rapacious shipmasters exacted from the defenceless travellers the greater part of their remaining possessions, as the price of a passage to some neighbouring coast; and in many cases the passenger was tossed overboard ere the voyage was completed, and his goods confiscated to the crew. A rumour having got abroad that the fugitives were in the habit of swallowing jewels and gold pieces in order to evade the royal decree, thousands of unhappy beings were ripped up by the greedy knife of the enemy, on land or sea, on the chance of discovering in their mutilated remains some little store of treasure.

And thus, north, south, east and west, the Jews straggled and struggled over Spain; and undeterred by the manifold terrors of the sea, a vast multitude of exiles, whose homes in

Lea, *Chapters on the Religious Hist. of Spain*, 1890, *Appendix*. A mass of references are cited by Mr. H. C. Lea in this most interesting work, more especially on pp. 437-468, as to the universality of the belief, in the Middle Ages, that the Jews were in the habit of crucifying Christian children, and committing sacrilege in a thousand cruel, fantastic and disgusting ways, to the detriment of the Christian religion.

Spain once lay in sunny Andalusia, sought and found an uncertain abiding place in neighbouring Africa.[1]

Of all Christian countries, it was in neighbouring Portugal that the greatest number of the exiles found refuge and shelter; until after five brief years of peace and comparative prosperity, the heavy hand of Castilian intolerance once more descended upon them, and they were driven out of the country, at the bidding of Isabella and her too dutiful daughter, the hope of Portugal and of Castile.[2]

But to every country in Europe the footsteps of some of the sufferers were directed. Not a few were permitted to abide in Italy and southern France; some of the most distinguished found a haven in England; many were fortunate enough to reach the Ottoman dominions, where, under the tolerant government of the Turk, they lived and prospered, and where their descendants, at many of the more important sea-ports of the Levant, are still found to speak a perversion of the Castilian of their forefathers.[3]

[1] "The number of Jews expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella is," says Prescott, "variously computed at from 160,000 to 800,000 souls." *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., cap. xvii. After a careful comparison of the various contemporary authorities, I have set down a figure which is I trust approximately accurate, but which certainly does not err on the side of exaggeration. The orthodox Mariana (lib. xxvi., ch. i.) gives the numbers at 170,000 households (casas) or say 700,000 or 800,000 souls. And it is not easy to see why he should have exaggerated the horrors of the expulsion, even though he considered the edict as deserving of our admiration. Prescott, indeed, adopts the lowest estimate that he has recorded. But his arguments do not appear to me by any means convincing. See *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. i., cap. xvii., text, and note 14. Nor is the testimony of an apostate Rabbi, as recorded by Father Bernaldez, by any means conclusive, even if it is fairly acceptable evidence.

As to the disastrous political results of the expulsion of the Jews upon the fortunes not only of Spain but of America, see a very excellent chapter in Graetz, *Hist. of Jews*, ed. Löwy, vol. iv. (A.D. 1270 to 1648), cap. xl. On page 378 he computes the number of the exiles at 300,000. For the history of Jews in Spain from A.D. 500 to 1270, the third volume of Graetz's work may be advantageously consulted.

[2] Twenty thousand families, or say 100,000 Jews, are said to have entered Portugal in 1492, on payment of a tax of eight cruzados each to John II. Armourers and smiths were to pay four cruzados only. Lindo, 321-2. As to the dreadful results of King Emmanuel's decree, see *ibid.*, 323-331.

[3] Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, cap. cx., cxi., cxiii. And as to Jews in Fez, *ibid.*, cap. cxiv. It is not generally known that the 80,000 Jews who now form the majority, and practically control the affairs of the great Turkish city of Salonica, claim to be descended from the Spanish Jews driven out by Ferdinand, and permitted to settle here, with reasonable privileges, by the more liberal-minded Sultan. They remain a singular population, of a type not to be found elsewhere among Jews. The men, especially, are very tall and handsome, and dress in a fine costume, of which a long cloak, worn open, and lined with fur, is a striking feature. They still use Spanish as their everyday language, and print two or more

That the edict of banishment was meant to be, as it so constantly was, a doom of death, and not merely a removal of heretics, is clear from the action of the Spanish sovereigns, who, at the instigation of Torquemada, procured from the pliant Innocent VIII. a Bull enjoining the authorities of every country in Christian Europe to arrest and send back to Spain all *fugitive* Jews under penalty of the Greater Excommunication.[1]

More than once, indeed, the demand for extradition was made. But save in the case of the Portuguese Jews, on the second marriage of the Princess Isabella to the reigning sovereign of that country, no foreign prince appears to have paid any heed to this savage edict. Nor was it, as a rule, of any material advantage, either at Rome or at Seville, that it should be put in force.

Avarice was perhaps the besetting sin of Rome in the fifteenth century; nor was bigotry unknown throughout western Europe. But in Spain, as the century drew to a close, avarice and bigotry joined hand in hand, and flourished under royal and noble patronage, preached by religion, practised by policy, and applauded by patriotism. It was not strange that, under such teaching, the people of Castile should have rapidly become demoralised, and that the great race should have begun to develop that sordid and self-satisfied savagery which disgraced the name of the Spaniard, in the heartless and short-sighted plunder of the new world that lay before him.

Yet in all human affairs there is something that too often escapes our observation, to explain, if not to excuse, what may seem the most dreadful aberrations of the better nature of man. And it may be that the uncompromising religious spirit, which has had so enormous an influence for evil and for good upon the Spanish people, is to some extent the result of their Semitic environment of 800 years.

Religious controversy indeed, between rival branches of

papers in Hebrew letters, but in the language they carried with them from the West. This dialect of Spanish probably possesses many archaic features worthy of study. *Cf. ante*, vol. i., p. .

For this very interesting note I am indebted to my friend Dr. Mahaffy. (I can confirm this note from my personal observation. I have devoted some attention to the Spanish dialect of the Constantinople Jews, and have found the subject of the utmost philological interest.—H.)

[1] See Bull of 3rd April, 1487; and Llorente, i., 8. At a meeting of the Consejo of Vittoria, 10th June, 1493, it is recorded "that there is a great scarcity of physicians owing to the departure of the Jews". The Jew physicians were actually requested by the municipality in other places to remain, lest there should be no medical assistance at the disposal of the inhabitants. Lindo, *ubi supra*, 300.

the Christian Church in the days of the Visigoths, developed religious animosities before the first Moslem landed at Tarifa; yet the Arab and the Moor, fired with the enthusiasm of a new and living faith, brought into their daily life in Spain, in peace and in war, a deep and all-pervading religious spirit—an active recognition of the constant presence of one true God—unknown to the Roman or the Visigoth, which must have had an enormous influence upon the grave and serious Spaniards who lived under the rule of the Arab.

Nor was the Moslem the only factor in this mediæval development. In no other country in Europe was the Jew, as we have seen, more largely represented, and more powerful, for the first fifteen centuries of our era, than in Spain, whether under Christian or Moslem masters. But the direct and simple monotheism of the Hebrew and the Arab, while it had so great a direct influence upon Spanish Christianity, provoked, as part of the natural antagonism to the methods of the rival and the enemy, the counter development of an excessive Hagiolatry, Mariolatry and Sacerdotalism, just as the scrupulous cleanliness of the Moslem reacted and caused the ostentatious filth of the Spanish Christian devotees.

It would be strange enough if the religious fervour which doomed to death and torment so many tens of thousands of Semites in Spain, should be itself of Semitic suggestion. It is hardly less strange that the Greek Renaissance, which revolutionised the Christian world, and whose anti-Semitic influence to the present day is nowhere more marked than in every department of religious thought, should by the irony of fate have been forestalled by a writer at once Spanish and Semitic;[1] and when, by the sixteenth century, the rest of modern Europe had been led by the teaching of Averroës to accept the philosophy of Aristotle, Spain, the earliest home of Hellenism, new born in Europe, had already turned again to a religious Philistinism or Phariseeism of the hardest and most uncompromising type, Semitic in its thoroughness, Greek only in its elaborate accessories, and Spanish in its uncompromising vigour.

Thus it was that the Arab and the Jew, parents, in some sense, of the religious spirit of Ximenez and of Torquemada, became themselves the objects of persecution more bitter than is to be found in the annals of any other European nation. The rigours of the Spanish Inquisition, and the policy that inspired

[1] *Ante*, vol. i., chapter xix.

and justified it, are not to be fully explained by the rapacity of Ferdinand, the bigotry of Isabella, the ambition of Ximenez, or the cruelty of Torquemada. They were in a manner the rebellion or outbreak of the old Semitic spirit against the Semite, the ignorant jealousy of the wayward disciple against the master whose teaching has been but imperfectly and unintelligently assimilated—perverted, distorted, and depraved by the human or devilish element which is to be found in all religions, and which seems ever striving to destroy the better, and to develop the worser part of the spiritual nature of man.

CHAPTER XLIV.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

(1483—1494.)

We now enter upon a period of European history which is but feebly characterised by the term interesting, and which has been too accurately chronicled, and too severely investigated to be called romantic; when a well-founded jealousy, or fear of the growing power of France, alone supplies the key to the ever-changing foreign policy of the sovereigns of Spain. Genuine state papers of the fifteenth century are by no means numerous. In such of them, however, as are still extant, we find the fear expressed over and over again that the kings of France would render themselves "masters of the world," would "establish a universal empire," or "subject the whole of Christendom to their dictation".[1] The best means to avert such a danger appeared to contemporary statesmen to be the foundation of another European state as a counterpoise. Ferdinand the Catholic, ambitious, diplomatic and capable, was the first prince who undertook the enterprise.

Within less than three years after the Inquisition had been established at Seville, Louis XI. of France, the old rival and colleague of John II. of Aragon, had died in Paris, 30th August, 1483. He was succeeded by his son Charles VIII., a young prince whose ignorance was only equalled by his vanity, and was if possible exceeded by his presumption. With such an antagonist, Ferdinand of Aragon was well fitted to deal, with advantage to himself and to Spain. To win over the Duchess of Bourbon, who had virtually succeeded to the Government of France on the death of Louis XI., and to marry his eldest daughter Isabella to the young king Charles VIII. were accordingly the first objects of his negotiations. But in spite

[1] *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., Introduction, p. 99.

of all the flattery lavished on the duchess, Ferdinand did not succeed in obtaining the crown for the Infanta.[1] A more richly dowered bride was destined for the King of France, to whom the acquisition of the province of Brittany was of far greater importance than the doubtful friendship of Spain; and after much public and private negotiation, the Spanish ambassador was reluctantly withdrawn from Paris in the summer of 1487 (29th of July).

Disappointed in his dealing with the court of France, the ever watchful and persistent Ferdinand turned his eyes to England; and in the last days of the year 1487, an ambassador from the Spanish sovereigns, Roderigo de Puebla, Doctor of Canon and Civil law, arrived at the court of London. Henry VII. who greatly desired to establish a closer alliance with Spain, succeeded in flattering the new envoy, and rendering him almost from the first subservient to his personal interests. Yet the King of England and the Spanish ambassador together, were no match for Ferdinand of Aragon. The negotiations between the sovereigns were prolonged for two years, and in the end Henry was worsted at every point. He had signed a treaty of offensive alliance with Spain against France, with which power he wisely desired to maintain friendly relations, and he had been prevailed upon to send some English troops into Brittany to co-operate with a Spanish contingent which never arrived, in the expulsion of the French from that country. He had concluded further treaties of friendship and alliance with the King of the Romans, who was actually encouraging Perkin Warbeck to assert his claim to the crown of England, and with the Archduke Philip, whom he personally and independently hated. And he had been forced to content himself with the promise of a very modest dowry with the Spanish princess who was affianced to his son Arthur, Prince of Wales.[2]

Relatively too, as well as positively, he had been falsely borne in hand. Maximilian, who had been no less ready than Henry with his promises to Ferdinand, did not send a single soldier into Brittany, but endeavoured to overreach Henry, Charles, and Ferdinand by a hasty marriage—by proxy—with the young Duchess of Brittany without the consent or knowledge of either England or Spain. Yet this diplomatic victory over the very astute Englishman did not satisfy Ferdinand and

[1] *Arch. gen. de la Corona de Aragon*, Barcelona, MS. Reg. 3686, fol 92, 93.
[2] *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), i., pp. 77-79.

Isabella, who, fearful less they should "become the victims of their honesty" if they permitted Maximilian to surpass them in political perfidy, immediately renewed secret negotiations with France, and declared themselves ready to abandon the king, the duchess and the emperor. Charles, they promised, should obtain what he wished, without risking the life of a single soldier, if only he would marry a Spanish Infanta. And they offered him, not Isabella their eldest born, but their second daughter Joanna.[1]

Charles however had other views, and finding no cohesion or certainty in Ferdinand's league against him, strengthened his cause and his kingdom by marrying the Duchess Anne of Brittany himself, and uniting her hereditary dominions for ever to the crown of France, a fair stroke of policy for a foolish sovereign in the midst of crafty and unscrupulous adversaries. (13th December, 1491).

Ferdinand replied by calling on Henry VII. to fulfil his engagements and invade France. Henry accordingly on the 1st of October, 1492, landed an army at Calais, and marched on Boulogne; while Ferdinand, without striking a blow either for Spain or for England, took advantage of the English expedition to extort from the fears and folly of Charles VIII. the favourable conditions of peace and alliance that were embodied in the celebrated convention which was signed at Barcelona, on the 19th of January, 1493. By this instrument[2] it was provided that each of the high contracting parties should mutually aid each other against all enemies, the Vicar of Christ alone excepted, that the Spanish sovereigns should not enter into an alliance with any other power to the prejudice of the interests of France, and finally, that the coveted provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, whose recovery had long been one of the chief

[1] *Archivos de la Corona de Aragon*, Reg. 3686, fol. 101 and 104. Bergenroth, *Cal. State Papers*, i., Introd., 70, 71 and 78-80.

[2] See Dumont, *Corps Universel*, etc., tom. iii., p. 297. Henry VII. on his part concluded a treaty of peace, at the urgent request of his Council, at Etaples, near Boulogne, on the 3rd of November, 1492. The negotiations for the recession of Roussillon and Cerdagne to Aragon, were at this time very actively pushed forward by Ferdinand. See Peter Martyr, *Letter to Count of Tendilla*, 4th October, 1492. (Simancas) *Calendar* (Spain), vol. i., No. 77. Commines, *Mémoires*, lib. viii., cap. xxiii. Roscoe, *Leo X.*, i., cap. iii.; Prescott, ii., pp. 15, 16; Gaillard, *Rivalité de la France et l'Espagne*, tom. iv., p. 11. There is a secret memoir in existence in which Ferdinand and Isabella confess that the cession of Roussillon and Cerdagne was partly the consequence of the expedition undertaken by Henry against Boulogne. Paris, *Archives de l'Empire*, ix.; *Negotiations* (Espagne) K., 1638. It need scarcely be said that this was constantly and indignantly denied at the time.

objects of Ferdinand's ambition, should be immediately handed over to Aragon.

The services of England being no longer needed by the Peninsular sovereigns, Ferdinand abruptly broke off all further negotiations with Henry VII.; the signatures of Ferdinand and Isabella to the treaty with England, which had already been ratified, were disposed of by the simple but effective expedient of cutting them out of the parchment with a pair of scissors;[1] and the contract of marriage between Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta Catharine having served its immediate diplomatic purpose—was removed, for the time being,[2] from the sphere of practical politics.

It is sufficiently characteristic of both parties, that in the treaty of Barcelona, between Charles and Ferdinand, Naples, the true objective of the young King of France, was not even mentioned. Ferdinand, well content with the immediate advantages obtained by the treaty, was by no means imposed upon by such vain reticence, while Charles, pluming himself upon the success of his diplomacy in his treaties with England, with France, and with the empire, looked forward to establishing himself without opposition on the throne of Naples, on his way to assume the Imperial purple at Constantinople.[3]

The kingdom of Naples, on the death of Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, had passed, we have already seen, to his illegitimate son Ferdinand, who proved to be a tyrant of the worst Italian type, worthless, contemptible and uninteresting. To expel this hated monarch, for whom not one of his Neapolitan subjects would have been found to strike a blow in anger, seemed but a chivalrous and agreeable pastime to the vain and ignorant youth who had succeeded Louis XI. upon the throne of France. His more experienced neighbours indeed smiled with some satisfaction at his presumption. Yet, strange to say, the judgment of the vain and ignorant youth was just; and the wise men, who ridiculed his statesmanship, and scoffed at his military ineptitude, were doomed to great and astounding disappointment.

Before the French preparations for the invasion of Italy were fairly completed, in the early spring of 1494, Ferdinand of Naples died, and was succeeded by his son Alfonso I., the

[1] *Calendar*, etc., i.; Introd., lxxiii., and p. 24; treaty of 27th-28th March, 1489.

[2] From January, 1493, till October, 1497.

[3] Zurita, *Hist. del Rey Hernando*, i., 31. He had purchased the Eastern Empire from Andrew Palæologos, the nephew of the last crownless Constantine.

cousin-german of Ferdinand of Aragon. This change of rulers altered in no way the wild schemes of Charles of France, nor, although the new King of Naples was far less odious than his father had been in his own dominions, did it make any important change in the condition of Italian politics. By the month of June, 1494, the French preparations were so far advanced that Charles judged it opportune to acquaint his Spanish allies with his designs on Naples, and to solicit their active co-operation in his undertaking.

That Ferdinand should, under any possible circumstances, have been found to spend the blood and treasure of Spain in assisting any neighbour, stranger, or ally, in any enterprise, without direct advantage to himself, was a supposition entirely extravagant. But that he should assist a feather-headed Frenchman to dispossess a son of Aragon of a kingdom from which his own ancestors had thrice driven a French pretender, and where, if any change were to be made in the sovereignty, his own rights of succession were far superior to the shadowy claims derived from the hated Angevins: this was a thing so grotesquely preposterous, that it is hard to suppose that even Charles of France should have regarded it as being within the bounds of possibility. Ferdinand contented himself for the moment with expressions of astonishment, and offers of good advice, while Charles pushed forward his preparations for the invasion of Italy. Don Alfonso de Silva, despatched by the court of Spain as a special envoy, came up with the French army at Vienne on the Rhone, towards the end of June, 1494. But he was instructed rather to seek, than to convey, intelligence of any sort; nor was it to be supposed that his grave remonstrances or his diplomatic warnings should have had much effect upon the movements of an army that was already on the march.

In August, 1494, 30,000 men, hastily equipped, yet well provided with the new and dreadful weapon that was then first spoken of as a *cannon*, crossed the Alps, and prepared to fight their way to Naples. But no enemy appeared to oppose their progress. The various States of Italy, jealous of one another, if not actually at war, were unable or unwilling to combine against the invader;[1] the roads were undefended; the troops fled; the citizens of the isolated cities opened their gates one after the other, at the approach of the strange and foreign

[1] Charles, indeed was already assured of the support of Sforza, Duke of Milan, the most powerful of the Italian sovereigns except the Pope.—H.

invader. The French army, in fine, after a leisurely *promenade militaire* through the heart of Italy, marched unopposed into Rome on the last day of the year 1494.

Ferdinand and Isabella had, in the first instance, offered no serious opposition to the French enterprise, which appeared to them to be completely impracticable; and they had awaited with diplomatic equanimity the apparently inevitable disaster, which, without the loss of a single Spanish soldier or the expenditure of a single maravedi, would at once have served all the purposes of Ferdinand, and permitted him to maintain his reputation for good will towards Charles, which might have been useful in future negotiations.[1] The astonishing success of the French invasion took the Spanish sovereigns completely by surprise, and it became necessary for Ferdinand to adopt, without haste, but with prudent promptitude, a new policy, at once towards France and towards the various parties in Italy.

[1] This chapter is very largely based upon the letters and State papers discovered at Simancas by Bergenroth, and published in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., and *Supplement*.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE SPANIARDS IN ITALY.

(1455—1497.)

I.—*Alexander VI.*

The boldest and the most capable of all the sovereigns of Italy, in these trying times, was the Spanish Pontiff, who by a singular fate has been made, as it were, the whipping boy for the wickedness of nineteen centuries of Popes at Rome, and who is known to every schoolboy and every scribbler as the infamous Alexander VI. Roderic Lenzuoli, or Llançol, was the son of a wealthy Valencian gentleman, by Juana a sister of the more distinguished Alfonso Borja, bishop of his native city of Valencia.[1]

Born at Valencia about 1431, Roderic gave evidence from his earliest years of a remarkable strength of character, and of uncommon intellectual powers. While still a youth, he won fame and fortune as an advocate. But his impatient nature chafed at the moderate restraint of a lawyer's gown; and he was on the point of adopting a military career, when the election of his uncle to the supreme Pontificate as Calixtus III. in 1455, opened for him the way to a more glorious future. At the instance of the new Pope, Roderic adopted his mother's name, in the Italian form already so well known and distinguished at the court of Rome, and taking with him his beautiful mistress Rosa Vanozza,[2] whose mother he had formerly seduced, he turned his back upon his native Valencia, and sought the fortune that awaited him at the capital of the world.

[1] Burchard, *Journal* (Florence), 1854; Alexander Gordon, *Life of Alexander and Cæsar Borgia* (1729); Massé, *Hist. du Pape Alex. VI.* (Paris, 1830); Gieseler, *Church History*, iii., 133. H. C. Lea, *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy*. Valencia was made an *Archbishopric* only in 1458.

[2] This Rosa is said by some authorities to have been a friend of somewhat later date. In any case she survived Roderic, and adopted his Italian name of Borgia. Reumont, *Bd.* iii., pp. 202-3; Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vii., 328.

Unusually handsome in his person, vigorous in mind and body, masterful, clever, eloquent, unscrupulous, absolutely regardless of all laws, human or divine, in the gratification of his passions, and the accomplishment of his designs, Roderic, the Pope's nephew, was a man made for success in the society in which he was to find himself at Rome. On his arrival at the Papal court in 1456 he was received with great kindness by his uncle, and was soon created Archbishop of Valencia, Cardinal of St. Nicholas *in Carcere Tulliano*, and Vice-Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church. On the death of Calixtus, in 1458, the Cardinal Roderic Borgia sank into comparative insignificance; and during the reigns of Pius II., Paul II., Sixtus IV. and Innocent VIII. we hear little of him but that he was distinguished for his amours, for his liberality in the disposal of his fortune, and for his attention to public business. Having thus secured the goodwill of many of the cardinals and the affection of the Roman people, he had no difficulty, on the death of Innocent VIII. in July, 1492, in making a bargain with a majority of the members of the Sacred College, in accordance with which he was elected Pope, and took the title of Alexander VI. on the 26th August, 1492.

His election was received by the Roman people with the utmost satisfaction, and celebrated with all possible demonstrations of joy.[1] His transcendent abilities and his reckless methods could not fail to render him obnoxious to his companions and his rivals in Italy; but it is due rather to his foreign origin, his Valencian independence of character, and above all his insolent avoidance of hypocrisy in the affairs of his private life, that he has been made a kind of ecclesiastical and Papal scapegoat, a Churchman upon whose enormous vices Protestant controversialists are never tired of dilating, and whose private wickedness is ingenuously admitted by Catholic apologists as valuable for the purposes of casuistic illustration, as the one instance of a divinely infallible judge whose human nature yet remained mysteriously impure, and whose personal or individual actions may be admitted to have been objectively blameable.

To measure the relative depths of human infamy is an impossible as well as an ungrateful task. It is not given to mortals to know the secrets of the heart. But bad as Alexander undoubtedly was, he was possibly no worse than many of his contemporaries in the Consistory, less wicked than some of his predecessors at the Vatican. The guilt of greater and more

[1] Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, vii., 332.

vigorous natures passes for superlative infamy with the crowd;[1] but when dispassionately compared with that of his immediate predecessors, Sixtus IV.[2] and Innocent VIII.,[3] the character of Alexander VI. is in almost every respect less flagitious and more admirable.

So unblushing was the venality of the Holy See in the fifteenth century,[4] that sacred dialecticians and jurists of high

[1] Ranke (*Hist. of the Popes*, Introduct., chapter ii.) speaks of the "utmost vigour and singular success with which Alexander VI. acted of deliberate purpose" in the aggrandisement of the temporal power of the Papacy, an idea followed out with less subtilty but scarcely less vigour by his successor Julius II., the man who "wanted to be lord and master of the game of the world". *Venetian MS.*, *apud* Ranke, *ubi supra*.

[2] The death of Sixtus IV. was received in Rome with a pæan of joy, and we are told that men were less affected at his open sale of benefices to the highest bidder, and at his other devices for extorting money, than at the manner in which he rewarded the objects of his unnatural lust, by granting to them rich bishoprics and archbishoprics. Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, iii., 639-40, and authorities cited.

[3] Innocent VIII. took bribes, not only, as usual, from the Christians, penitents and potentates, but even from Bajazet II., the *Grand Signor* of Islam; and at the price of an annual subsidy from the Turk, of 40,000 golden crowns, and a Christian relic of inestimable value, he detained in a Roman prison Zem, the Sultan's brother and rival, who was burning to send an army against Constantinople for the advancement of Christianity. Bower, *Innocent VIII.* (1489).

A pun on the name and notorious immorality of Innocent VIII. is contained in the contemporary epigram:—

Octo nocens pueros genuit, totidemque puellas
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma patrem.

Oswald Reichel, *The See of Rome*, etc., p. 529, Bayle, *Dictionnaire.*

[4] Nor was the enormous wickedness of the ecclesiastics at Rome by any means confined to the fifteenth century. Nothing can well be conceived more terrible than the account of the corruption and avarice of the Holy See in the fourteenth century, by Cardinal Matthew of Cracow; *De Squaloribus Romanæ Curiæ*. See also Lea, *op. cit.*, iii., 626, 630, and authorities cited. The cardinal died in 1411. Even more startling are the revelations of St. Brigitta of Sweden, who died in 1373, and was canonised in 1391 by Boniface IX. Nothing, says Mr. Lea, that Wycliffe or Huss could say of the depravity of the clergy could exceed the bitterness of her supremely orthodox denunciations. Lea, iii., 635-6.

One of the first acts of John XXII. on his accession (in 1317) was to cause a private enemy, no Jew, but a Catholic bishop, Hugues Sérold, Bishop of Cahors, to be flayed alive and burned at the stake in Avignon. Seventy years later, the scene having shifted to Rome, Urban VI., in 1385, caused six cardinals, who had offended him, to be seized as they left the Consistory, and subjected to the most horrible torture in the castle of Nocera. "When it came to the turn of the Cardinal of Venice, Urban entrusted the work to an ancient pirate whom he had created Prior of the Order of St. John of Sicily, with instructions to apply the torture till the howls of the victim should reach his eager ears. The torture was continued in various forms during the whole day, while the Holy Father paced the garden under the window of the torture chamber, reading his Breviary aloud, so that the sound of his voice might remind the executioner of the presence of his chief." Lea, i., 558. Yet the cruelties perpetrated by Clement VI., anti-Pope and rival of Urban, were if anything more enormous. Lea, i., 558-9, and authorities cited.

authority were found seriously to argue that the Pope was not subjectively capable of committing the offence of Simony.[1] It might have been contended with equal justice, that in every other respect he was at once above, or outside, the scope of the entire moral law.

From the death of Benedict XI., in 1303, to the death of Alexander VI., in 1503, the night was dark before the inevitable dawn; and in every phase of human depravity, in every development of human turpitude, in arrogance, in venality, in cruelty, in licentiousness, mediæval Popes may be found pre-eminent among contemporary potentates. Thus, if the wickedness of Alexander was extravagant, it was by no means unparalleled, even among the Popes of a single century. His cruelty was no greater than that of Urban VI. or of Clement VII., or of John XXII. His immorality was, at least, more human than that of Paul II. and of Sixtus IV., nor were his amours more scandalous than those of Innocent VIII. His sacrilege was less dreadful than that of Sixtus IV.[2] His covetousness could hardly have exceeded that of Boniface IX.; his arrogance was less offensive than that of Boniface VIII. If he was unduly subservient to Ferdinand and Isabella in his toleration of the enormities of Torquemada, his necessities as an Italian sovereign rendered the Spanish alliance a matter of capital importance. As a civil potentate and as a politician, he was not only wiser, but far less corrupt than Sforza, less rapacious than Ferdinand, more constant than Maximilian of Germany, less reckless than Charles of France. His administrative ability, his financial enlightenment, his energy as regards public works, were no less remarkable than his personal liberality, his affability, and his courage. His division of the New World by a stroke of the pen was an assumption of Imperial power which was at least justified by the magnitude of its success. As he sat in his palace on the Mons Vaticanus, he was the successor, not of Caligula, but of Tiberius—not of Commodus, but of Diocletian.

[1] Boniface IX. when in want of money to pay his troops, and defray the cost of his vast buildings in 1399, suddenly deposed an immense number of unoffending prelates, or translated them to titular sees; and then and there sold to the highest bidder the bishoprics thus vacated. Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, etc., vol. iii., 627-8.

[2] As to the attempted assassination of Giuliano de Medici by order of Sixtus IV. in the church of the *Reparata*, at Florence (26th April, 1478), at the moment of the elevation of the host, see Roscoe, *Lorenzo de Medici* (Bohn's ed., 1851), 138-146, and Bower, *Sixtus IV.* (1476-7).

Of the misfortunes of his eldest son, created by Ferdinand Duke of Gandia; of the wickedness of his second son, the fifteenth century Cæsar, who succeeded his father as Cardinal Archbishop of Valencia; of the profligacy of his daughter, so unhappily named Lucretia; of the marriage of his youngest son Geoffrey to a daughter of Alfonso of Naples, as a part of the treaty of alliance between the kingdom of the two Sicilies and the states of the Church, in 1494; of the alliance between Alexander and Bajazet, and the poisoning of the Sultan's brother, Zem, after thirteen years' captivity, on receipt of an appropriate fee; of the elevation of a facile envoy to the full rank of cardinal, to please the Grand Turk; of all these things nothing need be said in this place.[1]

We are more immediately concerned to know that on New Year's Day, 1495, Pope Alexander VI., a refugee, if not actually a prisoner, in the castle of St. Angelo,[2] was fain to accept the terms that were imposed upon him by the victorious Frenchmen —masters for the nonce of Italy and of Rome.

II.—*Charles VIII. in Italy.*

As Charles VIII. was marching through Italy, and was approaching, all unopposed, the sacred city of Rome, Alexander VI., anxious at all hazards to obtain the assistance of his countrymen in the hour of danger, had sent an envoy to the Spanish court representing the critical state of affairs in Italy, assuring the king and queen of his constant good will, in spite of certain disputes as to the Papal authority in Spain, and conveying to them, with other less substantial favours, the renewed grant of the *Tercias*, or two-ninths of the tithes throughout all the dominions of Castile, an impost which until the middle of the present century formed a part of the revenues of the Spanish monarchy. He also conceded to the Spanish

[1] *Ut faciat ipsum Cardinalum perfectum*, Bower, fourth ed., vii., 338. The price of blood is said to have been 300,000 Turkish ducats.

[2] An excellent life of Pope Alexander VI. and of his son Cæsar Borgia is that written in English by Alexander Gordon, one vol., folio, 1729, and afterwards translated into French. The details of the Pope's death by poison intended for some cardinal whom he desired to get rid of, is one of the best known of the many wicked incidents of his life, and will be found recorded in full detail in Guicciardini as well as by Bembo and Platina. But the incident is usually considered by modern critics as wholly fictitious. See an interesting article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, December, 1893.

crown the right of dominion over the whole of Northern Africa, except Fez, which had been given to the King of Portugal.[1]

A projected marriage between the Duke of Calabria, eldest son of the King of Naples, and the Infanta Maria, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, served to give the King of Spain an opportunity for negotiating with the Neapolitan court; and Ferdinand at the same time despatched the celebrated Garcilaso de la Vega as his ambassador, with instructions to return the most comforting assurances to the Pope at Rome. Yet he refrained from making any definite promises, or from committing himself to any definite policy. He was not a man to do anything rashly; and he preferred to await the course of events. Meanwhile, having sent a second mission from Guadalajara to the French court or camp, with good advice for his young friend and ally Charles VIII., Ferdinand betook himself with Isabella to Madrid, where the Spanish sovereigns devoted themselves to the preparation and equipment of an army to be despatched at an opportune moment to any part of Italy where subsequent events might render its presence necessary. As, for various reasons, it was impossible that either Ferdinand or Isabella should accompany their army abroad, it became necessary to select a general. Among all the skilful leaders and gallant knights who had signalised themselves in the wars of Granada, it was somewhat difficult to decide upon a commander. But Isabella had never lost sight of Gonsalvo de Cordova, in whom she discerned traces of rare military talent; and from the moment the Sicilian expedition was planned, she determined that he should be Captain-General of the royal forces. The greater experience and apparently superior claims of many who had distinguished themselves in battle against the Moors were urged by Ferdinand without avail. The command was given to Gonsalvo de Cordova.

But while the Spanish fleet, under the gallant Count of Trivento, was riding at anchor at Alicante, and Gonsalvo was preparing to embark his army on board the ships in that harbour, the Spanish sovereigns despatched a final embassy to Charles in Italy. On the 28th of January, 1495, as the king was leaving Rome on his way towards Naples, the ambassadors, Juan de Albion and Antonio de Fonseca arrived at the Vatican. They found Pope Alexander smarting under the humiliation of

[1] A right which was practically asserted less than a dozen years later by Cardinal Ximenes (1509).

his recent treaty with the invader,[1] and willing to assist them in any scheme for his discomfiture. They accordingly followed the French army with all speed, overtook it within a few miles of Rome, and immediately demanded an audience of Charles, even before his troops had come to a halt. They delivered up to him their credentials as he was riding along, and peremptorily required him to proceed no further towards Naples. The haughty tone of the Spaniards, as may be supposed, excited the greatest indignation in the breast of Charles and those who surrounded him; high words arose on both sides, and finally Fonseca, giving way to a simulated transport of rage, produced a copy of the once prized treaty of Barcelona, tore it to pieces, and threw down the fragments at Charles' feet. Paolo Giovo seems to think that this violent and unjustifiable conduct on the part of the Spanish ambassador was entirely unpremeditated; but it is certain that the whole scene had been preconcerted with either Ferdinand or the Pope. Zurita and the other chroniclers are silent on the point, but Peter Martyr in one of his letters[2] affirms that the mutilation of the treaty in Charles' presence was included in the secret instructions given to Fonseca by Ferdinand.

The envoys, as was expected, were promptly ordered to quit the French camp; and retiring with all speed to Rome, they hastened to transmit to Spain the earliest intelligence of the success of their mission. They were also permitted to inform their sovereigns of the new honour that had been conferred upon them by His Holiness Alexander VI., in the shape of the grant to them and to their heirs for ever on the throne of Spain of the title of *Catholic Kings*.[3]

Meanwhile Charles VIII. had reached Naples, which had at once opened its gates to the invaders, and the Castel Nuovo and the Castel d'Uovo were reduced to submission by their well served artillery. King Alfonso abdicated the crown, and

[1] The treaty that had been forced upon Pope Alexander VI. had included provisions to the effect that the fortresses of Civita Vecchia, Terracino and Spoleto should be delivered up to him, to be occupied until the termination of the war; that the Pope's son Cæsar Borgia should accompany the French army as a hostage, with the ostensible title of Cardinal Legate; that Prince Zem, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, who was a prisoner, or rather a refugee at the Vatican, should be delivered up to the French, with a view to assisting them in their expedition against Constantinople, and various other points of minor importance.

[2] *Epist.*, 144.

[3] *Reyes Católicos.* According to Philip de Commines, Alexander wished to deprive the French king of his title of "Most Christian," that had been conferred upon his most exemplary father Louis XI.

Fabricio Colonna ravaged the whole kingdom of Naples to the very gates of Brindisi, dispersing the little band of troops that had been collected by Don Cæsar of Aragon, illegitimate brother of the king; while Perron dei Baschi and Stuart d'Aubigny over-ran the whole country almost without striking a blow; and the greater part of the Neapolitan nobility gave their adhesion to the French. Nothing, however, could be more impolitic or more ungrateful than the manner in which Charles made use of his unexpectedly acquired authority, and it soon became evident that the new state of affairs in Naples would not be of very long duration. The moment for the judicious interference of Ferdinand of Aragon had not been long in arriving.

The conduct of the French at Naples showed pretty clearly to the Italian States the mistake they had made in permitting Charles to enter the country, and they were not slow to accept the suggestions of the Spanish ambassador, Don Lorenzo Suarez de Mendoza y Figueras, that they should form a league with the object of expelling the French from Italy. The attitude of the Duke of Orleans, who had remained at Asti, towards the Duchy of Milan, and the favourable reception accorded by Charles to Giovanni Trivulzio, Cardinal Fregosi, and Hybletto dei Fieschi, the chiefs of the banished nobles, and the sworn enemies of Ludovico Sforza, showed that prince how little he had to expect from the French alliance into which he had entered; and the conduct of Charles towards the Florentines, and indeed towards every government whose dominion he had traversed throughout Italy, terrified and enraged every statesman from Milan to Syracuse.

The envoys of the various states assembled at Venice. The deliberations in the council chamber were brief and decisive; and such was the secrecy with which the negotiations were conducted, that the astute statesman and historian Philip de Commines, who then represented France at the court of Venice, was only informed officially by the Doge Agostino Barberigo, on the morning of the 1st of April, 1495, that the treaty had been signed on the previous day. The avowed objects of this *Most Holy League*, which was entered into by Spain, Austria, Venice, Milan and the court of Rome, were the recovery of Constantinople from the Turks, and the protection of the interests of the Church; but the secret articles of the treaty, as may be supposed, went much further, and provided that Ferdinand should employ the Spanish armament, now on its way

to Sicily, in re-establishing his kinsman on the throne of Naples; that a Venetian fleet of forty galleys should attack the French positions on the Neapolitan coasts, that the Duke of Milan, the original summoner, should expel the French from Asti, and blockade the passage of the Alps, so as to prevent the arrival of further reinforcements, and that the Emperor and the King of Spain should invade France on their respective frontiers, while the expense of all these warlike operations should be defrayed by subsidies from the allies. The Sultan Bajazet II., though not included in the League, offered, and was permitted, to assist the Venetians both by sea and land against the French. Thus we see the strange spectacle of the Pope and the Grand Turk—the Prince of Christendom and the Prince of Islam—united against the first Christian power of Europe, under the leadership of The Most Christian King.[1]

Within six weeks of the signature of this important treaty, Charles VIII. of France had caused himself to be crowned at Naples, with extraordinary pomp, not only as king, but as emperor, and having thus gratified his puerile vanity, he abandoned his fantastic empire, and flying from the dangers that threatened him in Italy, he returned to Paris. His army in Naples was entrusted to his cousin Gilbert de Bourbon, Duc de Montpensier, who was invested with the title of viceroy, and instructed by the fugitive king to maintain his position in the country against all opponents.[2]

III.—*Gonsalvo de Cordova.*

It is not within the scope of this history to give any detailed account of the retreat of the French through Italy, of the wonderful passage of the Apennines at Pontremoli, and the still

[1] The text of the League dated "Venice, in the Ducal palace, in the bed-chamber of the Duke, 30th March, 1495," will be found in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), pp. 9 and 54-56. The commanding position taken by Alexander VI. among the allies is sufficiently remarkable. By clause 5 of the new Convention, he engages to assist, not only with temporal arms, and an army of 6000 men, but with spiritual arms, *armis spiritualis*, in the operations of war. Henry VII. of England at the earnest and oft-repeated solicitations of Ferdinand and Isabella, entered the League, 23rd September, 1496. Rymer, xii., 638, *Cal. State Papers* (Spain), i., 113.

[2] Like Bon Jean St. André, who,

> "Fled full soon on the first of June,
> And bid the rest keep fighting".

more wonderful victory of Fornovo on the Taro, when the French, whose entire force did not exceed 10,000 soldiers, completely routed the Italian army of 35,000 men, under the command of Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua. The French forces that remained in southern Italy were doomed to a very different fate. The command of the French army had been entrusted to the celebrated Stuart d'Aubigny, a knight of Scottish ancestry, who had been invested by Charles VIII. with the dignity of Constable of France, and who was accounted one of the most capable officers in Europe.[1] But a greater captain than d'Aubigny was already on his way from Castile, who was in a single campaign to restore the reputation of the Spanish infantry to the proud position which they had once occupied in the armies of ancient Rome.

Landing at Reggio in Calabria, on the 26th of May, 1495, with a force of all arms not exceeding 5000 fighting men, Gonsalvo de Cordova speedily took possession of that important base of operations, established himself on the coast, captured several inland towns, was victorious in many skirmishes, and would soon have overrun the whole of Calabria, had not the rashness of Frederic, the young King of Naples, who had succeeded but a few months before to the crown which Alfonso had abdicated after a reign of less than one year, led to a disastrous check at Seminara. But Gonsalvo rapidly reorganised his army, and showing himself, like a great general, no less admirable in repairing a defeat than in taking advantage of a victory, he had kept d'Aubigny so completely in check that he had been unable even to go to the assistance of Montpensier, who was in sore straits in Naples. The citizens soon opened their gates to their lawful sovereign, and Montpensier retreated with his remaining forces to Avella, on the banks of the Lagni, twenty miles north-east of the city of Naples, whither Gonsalvo promptly marched to besiege him. Having received intelligence in the course of his march—Gonsalvo was ever well informed—that a strong body of French, with some Angevin knights and nobles, were on their way to effect a junction with d'Aubigny, he surprised them by a night attack in the fortified town of Lino, where he captured every one of the Angevin lords, no less than twenty in number, and immediately marching off to Avella with his spoils and prisoners, and an immense booty, he

[1] Brantôme speaks of him with the utmost respect, and calls him the "*Grand Chevalier sans reproche*". *Vie des hommes Illustres*, ii., 59.

arrived at Frederic's camp early in July, just thirteen months after their separation on the disastrous field of Seminara.

On hearing of Gonsalvo's approach, the king marched out to meet him, accompanied by Cæsar Borgia, the Papal Legate, and many of the principal Neapolitan nobles and commanders, who greeted the victorious Castilian with the proud title of *the Great Captain*, by which he was already known to some of his contemporaries, and by which he has ever since been distinguished by posterity. At Avella he found a reinforcement of 500 Spanish soldiers, a welcome addition to his small force, which amounted on his arrival to only 2100 men, of whom 600 were cavalry. With such an army, less numerous than a modern German regiment, did Gonsalvo overrun Calabria, outgeneral the most renowned French commanders, and defeat their gallant and well-disciplined forces, emboldened by uninterrupted success.

The siege operations at Avella, which had been conducted without energy by the Neapolitans, received a new impetus from the presence of the Spaniard, who displayed such skill and vigour, that in a few days the French, defeated at every point, were glad to sue for terms, and on the 21st of July, 1496, signed a capitulation which virtually put an end to the war. It was meet that Gonsalvo should now pay a visit to his countryman at the Vatican, and having, on his way to Rome, delivered the town of Ostia from the dictatorship of a Basque adventurer of the name of Guerri, the last remaining hope of the French in Italy, he was received by Alexander VI. with such splendour, that his entry into the city is said to have resembled rather the *Triumph* of a victorious general into ancient Rome, than the visit of a modern grandee.

The streets were lined with enthusiastic crowds, the windows were filled with admiring spectators, the very tops of the houses were covered with lookers on, as Gonsalvo marched into and through the city, preceded by bands of music, and accompanied by his victorious army. The entire garrison of Ostia, with Manuel Guerri at their head, mounted on a wretched horse, was led captive to the Vatican, where Roderic Borgia, in the full splendour of his tiara and pontifical robes, and surrounded by his cardinals, sat on his throne awaiting the coming of his victorious countryman. When Gonsalvo reached the foot of the throne, he knelt down to receive the pontifical benediction, but Alexander raised him in his arms, and presented to him the Golden Rose, the highest and most distinguished honour

that a layman could receive from the hands of the sovereign Pontiff.[1]

The *Great Captain* now returned to Naples, into which city he made an entry scarcely less splendid than that into Rome; and he received at the hands of Frederic more substantial honours than those of a golden rose, in the shape of the Duke-dom of Santangelo, with a fief of two towns and seven dependent villages in the Abruzzo. From Naples the new duke sailed for Sicily, which was then in a state of open insurrection, in consequence of the oppressive rule of Juan de la Nuza, the Neapolitan Viceroy. By the intervention of Gonsalvo, the inhabitants were satisfied to return to their allegiance; and order was restored, without the shedding of a single drop of blood. After some further services to the state, and to the cause of peace, services both diplomatic and military, in Naples, in Sicily and in Calabria, adding in every case to his reputation as a soldier and a statesman, and above all as a great Castilian gentleman, Gonsalvo returned to his native Spain, where he was received with the applause and respect that is not always granted to great men by their own sovereigns, or even by their own countrymen.

His last services to King Frederic and his people, ere he quitted the country, were no less honourable than wise. Frederic was engaged in the siege of the last city in the kingdom of Naples that refused to recognise the dominion of Aragon, the ancient and noble city of Diano, whose inhabitants, vassals of that Prince of Salerno who was attached to the Angevin cause, refused to listen to the terms which were proposed. Gonsalvo took charge of the operations; and the citizens, convinced of the hopelessness of holding out any longer against so vigorous a commander, surrendered a few days afterwards at discretion. Gonsalvo, whether touched at their bravery and their forlorn condition, or merely being averse to severe measures for which he saw no reason, obtained from the king favourable terms for the garrison.

The expulsion of the French from Naples put an end, as might have been supposed, to the Most Holy League. For the high contracting parties, finding themselves secure from immediate danger, conceived themselves no longer bound by

[1] As to the rebuke he is said to have given to His Holiness, the legend is probably copied from that of the Cid. In any case there is a strong family resemblance between them. The authorities for Gonsalvo's presumption are Paolo Giovo, 222; Zurita, lib. iii., 175; Guicciardini, iii., 175; *Cronica del Gran Capitan*, 30.

its provisions. Maximilian, ever penniless and generally faithless, had made no attempt to engage in any operations on the French frontier, nor had any one of the allies contributed to defray the heavy charges incurred by the Spanish sovereigns in fulfilling their part of the agreement. The Venetians were fully occupied in securing for themselves as much of the Neapolitan territory as they could acquire, by way of indemnification for their own expenses. The Duke of Milan had already made a separate treaty with Charles VIII. Each member of the League, in fact, after the first alarm had subsided, had shown himself ready to sacrifice the common cause to his own private advantage; and Ferdinand of Aragon, who had already suspended his operations on the frontiers of Spain in October, 1496, had no difficulty in agreeing to a further truce as regards Naples and Italy, which was signed on the 5th of March, 1497.

The Spaniards had borne the entire burden of the late war. They had been virtually abandoned by their allies, and their unassisted operations had led to the deliverance of Naples, and the safety of the Italian states, and to the humiliation and the defeat of the French. Their immediate objects having been thus happily accomplished, Ferdinand and Isabella proposed to Charles VIII., without shame or hesitation, that the French and Spaniards should enter into an immediate treaty of alliance, with a view to drive out the reigning sovereign of Naples, and divide his kingdom between themselves! Meanwhile the Castilian envoy to the Holy See endeavoured to induce Alexander VI. to withhold the investiture of his kingdom from Frederic, the new sovereign of Naples, on the ground that he was friendly to the Angevin party in Italy, the hereditary enemies of Spain.[1] But Alexander paid no heed to Garcilaso de la Vega. Charles showed himself not only willing, but eager to treat with Fernando de Estrada; but unwilling at once to abandon all his claims to Italian sovereignty, he offered to cede Navarre to Ferdinand, and keep all Naples to himself. Proposals and counter proposals thus passed between France and Spain; but before any definite programme had been agreed to, the negotiations were cut short by the sudden death of the French monarch, in the tennis court at Amboise, on the eve of Easter, 1498.

The success of the Spanish arms under Gonsalvo de Cordova

[1] De Commines, i., viii., c. xxiii.; Mariana, lib. xxvi., c. xvi.

in Italy was but the beginning of a long career of triumph. From the great victory at Seminara, in 1503, to the great defeat of Rocroy, in 1643, the Spanish infantry remained unconquered in Europe. The armies of Castile had been, indeed, as Prescott has it, "cooped up within the narrow limits of the Peninsula, uninstructed and taking little interest in the concerns of the rest of Europe".[1] But the soldiers and sailors of Aragon and Catalonia had fought with distinction, not only in Italy and in Sicily, but in the farthest east of Europe, for 200 years before the *Great Captain* of the united kingdom set foot on the shores of Calabria. Yet the victories of Gonsalvo were the beginning of a new era, and his life is interesting, not only as that of a brave soldier and an accomplished general, who flourished at a very important period of the history of Europe; but it is further and much more interesting as being the history of a man who united in himself many of the characteristics of ancient and modern civilisation, and who himself appears as a sort of middle term between mediæval and modern times.

In personal valour, in knightly courtesy, in gaudy display, he was of his own time. In astute generalship, and in still more astute diplomacy, an envoy not an adventurer, the servant and not the rival of kings, he belongs to a succeeding age, when the leader of a victorious army is prouder to be a loyal subject than a rash rebel. The Castilian lords of earlier days had ever been brave knights; their followers had ever been hardy and untiring combatants. But Gonsalvo was not only a tactician, but a strategist. The men whom he commanded were soldiers. Newly

[1] Don Modesto Lafuente, not without good cause, falls foul of Mr. Prescott for these words, used of Spain in general. "A new world," continues the biographer of Ferdinand and Isabella [meaning, strange to say, not America but *Italy*], "was now open to the Spanish nation." *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., cap. iii. The statement is certainly unfortunate. The Spanish historian in his rejoinder forbears to go back further than the ninth century. He reminds his readers, not perhaps very happily, of the negotiations of Alfonso X. to secure the Empire for himself, and of various other embassies, including, of course, that sent by Henry III. to the court of Tamerlane; and he is fully justified in reproaching the American writer for overlooking the constant interference, both diplomatic and warlike, of the House of Aragon in the affairs of Sicily and Naples; of the bold stand made by more than one King of Aragon against the Popes; of their campaigns in southern France and in every part of Italy; of the expeditions to Greece and even to Asia Minor; and of the enormous and most beneficial influence of Alfonso V. over every Italian State. And, lastly, he reminds us that in the course of the wars of succession between Castile and Portugal and England, a Spanish fleet was twice victorious over a British squadron in British wars. The American historian has made a still stranger misstatement of the same character with regard to the matrimonial alliance of the Spanish kings. Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, cap. iv., v., ii.; and Lafuente, tom. x., pp. 65-67.

armed and admirably disciplined, the regiments were no longer the followers of some powerful nobleman; they formed a part of the national army of Spain. The short sword of their Celt-iberian ancestors was once more found in their hands. The long lances of the Swiss mercenaries were adopted with conspicuous success. The drill-sergeant took the place of the minstrel in the camp.

Nor was this revolution in the art of war confined to the conduct of the Spanish troops in the field. Before the close of the campaign a national militia, or rather a standing army, had taken the place of the brave but irregular levies of mediæval Spain. A royal ordinance regulated the equipment of every individual, according to his property.[1] A man's arms were declared free from seizure for debt, even by the crown, and smiths and other artificers were restricted, under severe penalties, from working up weapons of war into articles of more pacific use. In 1426 a census was taken of all persons capable of bearing arms; and by an ordinance issued at Valladolid, on 22nd February of the same year, it was provided that one out of every twelve male inhabitants, between twenty and forty-five years of age, should be enlisted for the service of state, whether in the conduct of a foreign war or the suppression of domestic disorder.[2]

[1] *Pragmaticas del Reyno*, 1495, 83, 127, 129.

[2] The remaining eleven were liable to be called on in case of urgent necessity. These recruits were to be, during actual service, excused from taxes; the only legal exempts were the clergy, hidalgos and paupers. A general review and inspection of arms was to take place every year in the month of March or September. *Mem. de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi., ap. 13.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ROYAL MARRIAGES.

(1490—1506.)

I.—*Schemes of Empire.*

The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella had been blessed, as the phrase runs, with five children. Isabella, the eldest, was born in October, 1470; John, their only son, in 1478; Joanna in June, 1479; Maria in June, 1482; and Katharine in December, 1485. In the education of this royal family no pains were spared by the queen. Ferdinand concerned himself but little about literature or science, within or without the palace. His own scholarship, indeed, was not so imperfect as has sometimes been asserted, and he was at least able to write a letter with his own hand, in very fair Castilian. Nor could Isabella herself lay claim to any very superior attainments.[1] The lessons of Torquemada had been mainly religious or political, and profane letters had been despised, if not absolutely prohibited, by the Dominican, who had directed her earliest steps in knowledge. Both king and queen were essentially practical in their methods; ever inclined to action rather than to contemplation, dealing with men rather than with books, yet appreciating knowledge and culture in others, and making use of the students, rather than of the objects of their study, whenever occasion offered.[2]

But Isabella determined at least that her children should

[1] Bergenroth considers it probable that she was unable to understand any other language than Spanish. *Calendar*, etc., i., 35.

Prescott, chiefly on the authority of Pulgar, asserts that "she could understand, without much difficulty, whatever was spoken or written in Latin in a very moderate standard of excellence, and that she was a diligent collector of books". *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., cap. xix., a statement for which I can find no authority whatever.

[2] *Calendar*, etc., i., xxxv., xxxvi. There was a most remarkable similarity in the handwriting of the king and the queen.

be provided with such an education as befitted their exalted birth, and her own still higher aspirations. Accomplished scholars from Italy, as well as from the universities of Castile, were found to instruct the young princesses, as well in elegant Latinity as in general literature; while, in the education of the Prince of Asturias, no pains were spared to cultivate his scientific and literary powers, which were by no means inconsiderable, and to fit him by special and intelligent methods of culture and mental development, for the duties of the government of the great kingdom that was reserved for him.[1]

Nor was the education of the noble youth of Castile disregarded by their ever-watchful queen. The reduction of their fathers to loyal obedience, united under an admired but masterful sovereign, had been one of the greatest glories of the early years of her reign; and the encouragement of the young aristocracy of Castile in something better than their old occupation of fighting among themselves, and combining against their sovereign, became, after the conquest of Granada, one of the most legitimate objects of the queen's solicitude.

Peter Martyr, whose letters throw so much light upon the contemporary history of the country, was induced by the queen to return from Italy to Spain, and to assume the direction of a school for the young nobles, a task in which he was ably seconded by one Lucio Marineo, a Sicilian of distinction, a student, an author, and a man of varied attainments in literature and science.

But the subject that occupied the attention of both king and queen more closely than the education of princes or peers was the politic marriage of their children.[2] And yet, by a sad and strange fate, the disposal of these royal princes and princesses, so constantly cared for, the object of so much solicitude at home, the subject of so much negotiation abroad, was, from almost

[1] *Memorias de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, vi., 14.

[2] An inexcusable mistake is made by Prescott (ii., cap. iv.) in saying that "the Spanish monarchs had rarely gone beyond the limits of the Peninsula for their family alliances". A few of the more striking foreign marriages might surely have suggested themselves, such as that in the *ninth* century Alfonso the Chaste married Bertha of France; in the *eleventh* century Afonso VI. married in succession *four* foreign princesses, of whom Isabella, the fourth, was a daughter of the Emperor. Passing over the marriages of the Berenguers of Barcelona with French and Italian ladies, we have in the *twelfth* century the marriage of Alfonso VII. of Leon with a daughter of Ladislaus of Poland, and Alfonso VIII. with Eleanor of England; while in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there was scarcely a king who did not seek and find matrimonial alliances beyond the limits of his Spanish monarchy. A list—and it is a long one—is given by Modesto Lafuente, *Hist. de España*, vol. x., pp. 65-67.

every point of view, the one great and conspicuous failure of the reign of the Catholic kings. Their entire family would seem to have been smitten with some dreadful blight, and to have carried a curse with them into every home in which they were received. John, the only son, died in the flower of his youth within a few months of his early marriage. Isabella, his eldest sister, a widow at twenty, a wife once more, under the most odious conditions, died ere the first year of her new married life was accomplished, leaving, indeed, a son, the hope of two nations—who in his turn withered and perished, within two years of his mother's death. Katharine, the youngest born, whose English marriages ended so unhappily, has been celebrated rather for her misfortunes than for her virtues, great as the latter were. Maria, the least gifted and the least unhappy, found an unambitious husband in her widowed brother-in-law, Emmanuel, King of Portugal. For Joanna, distinguished by the most magnificent of alliances, was reserved also the most dreadful fate—a fate of which the full horror has only of late been appreciated by an indulgent posterity.

The first to be celebrated of all these royal marriages was that of the Princess Isabella with Alfonso, the heir to the crown of Portugal, which took place in the autumn of the year 1490, and which was apparently calculated to lead to the happiest results. But the magnificent wedding festivities at Lisbon were scarce concluded when the bridegroom died, and the widowed princess returned disconsolate to her mother (Jan., 1491).

The marriage of John, Prince of Asturias, was the next, and apparently the most important alliance, that engaged the attention of his parents; and, moved by many considerations of policy and prestige, they turned their thoughts to far-away Flanders. Maximilian of Hapsburg,[1] the titular sovereign of the Holy Roman Empire, had, by his first wife, Mary, a daughter of Charles the Bold, and in her own right Duchess of Burgundy, been made the father of two children, Philip, born in 1478, and Margaret, in 1480. Their beautiful mother died in 1482; and Philip, on attaining his legal majority at the age of sixteen, assumed, in her right, the government of the Low Countries in 1494. It was with this youthful sovereign, the heir to yet more splendid possessions, that the Catholic sovereigns desired

[1] Maximilian was in many ways a very remarkable man. His character is vigorously defended by Coxe in his *History of the House of Austria* (i., cap. xxv.), from the usual aspersions of Robertson, David Hume and Roscoe. He married, secondly, Bianca Maria, daughter of Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan.

to unite their younger daughter in marriage, while the hand of his sister Margaret was sought for the Prince of Asturias. The advantages to Spain of such a double marriage were enormous.

If Prince John were to marry the Archduchess Margaret, the only daughter of the emperor, he would inherit, in the event of the death of the Archduke Philip without issue, the great possessions of the Hapsburgs, Austria, Flanders and Burgundy, with a claim to the empire that had eluded his great ancestor, Alfonso X.[1] That the Archduke Philip should in his turn espouse, not Isabella, the eldest, but Joanna, the second daughter of the Catholic king, would prevent Spain from passing under the dominion of Austria, even in the unlikely event of the death of Prince John without issue, inasmuch as Isabella of Portugal would, in such a case, inherit the Spanish crown, to the prejudice of her younger sister in Flanders. And finally, if all the young wives and husbands should live to a reasonable age, and should leave children behind them at their death, one grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella would wear the Imperial purple as lord of central Europe, and another would sit upon the throne of a great united Peninsular kingdom of Castile, Portugal and Aragon.

The manifold advantages to Spain from such an arrangement were so obvious, that the emperor would possibly have refused his consent, had it not been for the consummate skill in negotiation that was displayed by the Spanish envoy, Don John Manuel, not the least remarkable of the many remarkable men selected by Isabella to do her bidding at home and abroad.[2]

A Castilian of uncertain origin, introduced in the first instance to the queen's notice as clerk or secretary in the palace, he speedily obtained the confidence, not only of Isabella, but of Ximenez, and after proving his skill and devotion in many less important negotiations, he was chosen to represent the Spanish sovereigns at the courts of the Emperor and of the Archduke. His success as a diplomatist was complete, for he not only prevailed upon Maximilian to agree to all that was desired by Ferdinand and Isabella, but he secured the good will and personal regard

[1] The inheritance consisted of the kingdom of Aragon, with its dependencies of Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Islands; of Castile, with the newly-discovered countries beyond the Atlantic; of the Burgundian States, including the Netherlands, Alsatia and the Duchy of Burgundy; of the five Austrian principalities; and of the Imperial purple.

[2] See Marsollier, *Vie de Ximenes*, i., 232-242; Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 282; Zurita, *An.*, vi., lib. vi., 1; Gomez, 53; Mariana, ii., lib. xxviii., 12; Rodriguez Villa, *Juana la loca* (1892), p. 107.

of all the parties to the transaction. The negotiation for the double marriage, for a league against France, for an alliance with England, and for the maintenance of the situation in Italy, were all satisfactorily concluded in the course of the year 1495.[1]

In the early autumn of 1496 (22nd Aug.), a splendid fleet set out from Laredo, a little port between Bilbao and Santander, which carried Joanna in safety to her expectant bridegroom. The archduke, and the princess for whom so sad a fate was reserved, were married at Lille with the usual rejoicings; and the Spanish admiral, charged a second time with a precious freight of marriageable royalty, brought back the Lady Margaret of Hapsburg with all honour to Spanish Santander, early in March, 1497. The marriage of the heir apparent took place at Burgos, on the 3rd of April; and on the 4th of October of the same year, the gentle and accomplished Prince of Asturias had passed away from Spain, and from this world. A youth of great promise, apparently destined to fill the most splendid position in Europe, amiable, intelligent, highly cultivated, John was a prince whose loss could never be supplied, and his death was an irreparable blow dealt to Spain.

Yet, once again, and for a few months, there lived an heir to United Spain, whose brief existence is scarce remembered in history. Isabella, the widowed queen of John II. of Portugal, had been persuaded or constrained by her parents to contract a marriage with her husband's cousin and successor Emmanuel; but the price of her hand was the price of blood. For it was stipulated that the Jews, who, by the liberality of the late king, had been permitted to find a home in his dominions, should be driven out of the country after the stern Castilian fashion of 1492, ere the widowed Isabella should wed her cousin on the throne of Portugal. Whether the princess was an apt pupil, or merely the slave of her mother and the inquisitor that lurked behind the throne, we cannot say, but the Portuguese lover consented to the odious bargain. The marriage was solemnised at Valencia de Alcantara, in the early days of the month of August, 1497, and the stipulated Tribute to Bigotry was duly paid. But before ever the bridal party had left the town, an express had arrived with the news of the mortal illness of the bride's only brother; and in little more than a year, the young queen herself, on the 23rd of August, 1498, expired in giving birth to a son. The boy received the name of Miguel, and

[1] See *Calendar*, etc., i., pp. 54-75.

lived for nearly two years—the heir apparent of Portugal, of Aragon, and of Castile—until he too was involved in the general destruction.

But some time before the death or even before the birth of Miguel, another royal marriage had been concluded, whose results throughout all time were no less remarkable and scarce less important than that which handed over Spain to a Flemish emperor. For after infinite negotiations and more than one rupture, after some ten years huxtering about dowry, and a dozen changes of policy on the part of the various sovereigns interested in the alliance, Katharine, the youngest daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, more familiarly known as Katharine of Aragon, had been married to Arthur, Prince of Wales, and the first act had been concluded of that strange and fateful drama that led to the Reformation in England.[1]

II.—*Negotiations in England.*

If the protracted negotiations that ultimately led to the marriage of Katharine of Aragon with two English princes are interesting in themselves, a brief sketch of the character of the chief negotiator between Spain and England will scarcely be considered impertinent. The position of Roderigo de Puebla,[2] the principal envoy of the Spanish sovereigns at this time at the court of London, was somewhat remarkable. Trusted rather by Henry VII. than by either Ferdinand or Isabella, looking for his remuneration to England rather than to Spain, and holding

[1] The first commission to the envoy Puebla and his colleague Sepulveda to conclude the marriage between the Infanta Katharine and Arthur, Prince of Wales, is dated from Murcia, as early as 30th April, 1488, when the young princess had not yet completed her *third* year. *Calendar*, etc., i., p. 3. In the following July, Henry VII. congratulates the Spanish sovereigns on their successes against the Moors; and on the same day it is stated that the Infanta Katharine's marriage portion is to be 200,000 crowns of 4s. 2d., *Calendar*, etc. (1862), pp. 129-131, and correspondence of October, 1496. The preliminary treaty of marriage was signed by the commissioners in London the next day, 7th July, after protracted negotiations about marriage portion, dowry and alliance with France and Germany, and the disposal of the person and dominions of Anne of Brittany. See also *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., i., 356-361.

[2] In 1489 he was temporarily recalled to Spain. Nor was any further negotiation of any importance undertaken through him from September, 1491, to November, 1494, when he returned, invested with extraordinary powers, to London, where he represented, not only the crowns of Castile and Aragon, but also the Pope and the German Emperor. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spanish), 1485-1509, Introduction, pp. 20, 21.

the interests of England at least as dear as those of his native country, he retained his diplomatic position rather as a man from whom Ferdinand could learn what Henry wanted, than as one who would necessarily further the interests of Spain in England.

Puebla, as Bergenroth happily says,[1] was treated by Ferdinand more as an English Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, well-disposed towards Spain and bitterly hostile to France, than as an ambassador as we understand the word. For he not only followed the profession of a lawyer in London, "extorting money from every Spaniard who came within his clutches";[2] but he economised in personal expenditure by dining nearly every day with the king, though it is just possible that the wily doctor may have been quite as anxious to obtain information as food. The ambassador was certainly not extravagantly fond of good living; nor were the diplomatic traditions of later days as regards the political importance of a good cook as yet developed in Europe. For when royal entertainment was not at the disposal of Puebla, he dined at the table of the mason who kept the house of ill-fame at which he resided in London. The price charged was not high. It was no more than two-pence per diem. The landlord recouped himself, as we are told, by robbing the other gentlemen who frequented the house, and de Puebla protected him against the agents of the law.

But the envoy had no direct emoluments from England. In 1497 Henry offered him an English bishopric. His acceptance of so lucrative a post would, however, have rendered him entirely independent of Spain, and the required permission was not granted by Ferdinand and Isabella.[3] Three years later Henry offered him a rich English wife; but the lady was no more acceptable than the mitre to the court of Spain.

Puebla remained, therefore, in London, unwedded and unbeneficed, poor, servile, avaricious; conferring with the King of

[1] "There were sufficient indications that Henry trusted to De Puebla more than he would confide to any ambassador. It is even probable that at that time there was not a single Englishman who shared the confidence of the king to so great an extent. What could be more convenient for Ferdinand and Isabella than to have a man who had such intimate relations with the king, subject to their orders? But in order that the interests of Spain should not suffer they always kept another ambassador in England in addition to De Puebla." *Calendar*, etc., vol. i., Introduction, pp. 23, 24.

[2] Dr. Breton to Londoño, 18th July, 1498. *Calendar*, etc., i., p. 166.

[3] The only hold that his own sovereigns maintained over this strange ambassador was the power of immediate recall.

England in his closet, when no English subject was present, assisting at the deliberations of the Privy Council as the friend of English royalty; distrusted by Ferdinand, flattered by Isabella, supported by Henry, a strange go-between in the service of two countries.[1]

The treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Katharine was concluded, for the second time, in the month of October, 1497. It had been ratified by both parties over and over again; and the marriage ceremony had been more than once performed by proxy, the last time secretly[2]—in fear of the King of Scots—in the Chapel of the Royal Manor at Bewdley.

Yet after everything had been done, and great sums had been spent in order that a splendid reception might be given to the princess, her departure from Spain was still postponed. There were more reasons than one for the delay. Ferdinand, on closer examination of the treaty, found out, or fancied, that he had been deceived by Henry in regard to the dowry.[3] Objections of all kinds were raised; and renewed excuses were offered for the postponement of the departure of the princess. The weather, the Moors of Granada, the receipt or delay of a letter. Anything would serve its turn. The question about the servants who were to accompany the Princess Katharine to England, moreover, gave no little trouble. Ferdinand and Isabella desired to send as many, and Henry to receive as few as possible. But upon one thing the king insisted—that the Spanish ladies who were to reside with the princess in England should be all of them beautiful, or, in any case, not ugly![4]

This last stipulation was, no doubt, a matter of policy; but every trifle was earnestly debated; and every debate gave rise to further delay: the potability of English water; the facilities for obtaining drinkable wine; the title to be given to the King of England; the influence of English life upon female morality; all

[1] Don Pedro de Ayala, apostolic and Imperial prothonotary, with the rank of a bishop, the bitterest enemy and rival of Puebla, was first nominated ambassador to the King of Scots, but afterwards, while retaining his post in Scotland, he was also accredited to the King of England.

See *Calendar* (1862), pp. 114-119, Isabella to Puebla, 18th August, 1496.

[2] The Bishop of Lincoln had scrupled to officiate on that occasion, because dignitaries of the Church were forbidden to sanction clandestine marriages. His objections, however, were overruled by De Puebla.

[3] See *Calendar*, etc., Introd. lxxxix., p. 220; and Ferdinand and Isabella to de Puebla, 6th June, 1500 (Simancas).

[4] *Calendar*, etc., Introd., p. 90.

these things were seriously considered. Nor did the regular diplomatic channels of correspondence suffice for information or procrastination.[1] Some private letters that passed between one of Henry's secretaries and his nephew in Castile were placed at the disposal of the king and queen; and some of them may still be read among the national archives of Spain.[2]

But the resources even of diplomatic correspondence are not infinite; and at last, on Sunday, the 2nd of October, 1501, more than thirteen years after the first letter had been written, Katharine of Aragon sailed into the harbour of Portsmouth. Within a few days the long-looked for marriage was solemnised at Westminster.[3] And within six months—2nd April, 1502—the young bridegroom died at the castle of Ludlow, whither he had kept his little court, in the hope that the pure air of the west country would strengthen his delicate constitution.

When the news of the death of Arthur reached Ferdinand and Isabella they sent, without a moment's delay, the Duke de Estrada as their ambassador to England. He received two commissions, both dated on the 10th of May, 1502. By the first, which was drawn up for show, he was commanded: (1st) To demand and receive back from the King of England the 100,000 crowns which had been paid as an instalment of the marriage portion of the Princess of Wales. (2nd) To demand that the King of England should deliver to the princess the towns, manors and lands which had been assigned as her dowry. (3rd) To beg Henry to send the princess back to Spain in the most becoming manner and with the least possible delay; and lastly, to superintend himself, if necessary, the preparations for her immediate departure from England.

By the second commission, which was drawn up for use, he was authorised to conclude a marriage between the Princess Katharine and Henry Prince of Wales.[4]

The second instructions, of course, represented the true scope of the embassy. Ferdinand and Isabella had been already informed of Henry's desire for the second marriage; but Estrada was ordered on no account to allow the English king to know

[1] The Duke of Northumberland is written of in one of these private letters as el Duque de *Nuestroberlenguen!*

[2] *Calendar*, etc., i., Introduction, xci., and p. 254, No. 294.

[3] An account of the marriage festivities at Westminster, which were most magnificent, is given, from a contemporary MS., in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. v., pp. 356-373.

[4] *Calendar*, etc., i., Introd., p. 93.

that such an alliance would be pleasing to the Catholic sovereigns, lest he should drive too hard a bargain with them in the matter of the dowry.

Isabella wrote with her own hand in August, 1502, urging the immediate return of Katharine, that she might give freer vent to her grief in the arms of her mother. She actually sent formal instructions to Estrada for the embarkation of the household, and even of the furniture, of the princess. But at the same time she privately informed the envoy that Katharine was on no account to be permitted to return to Spain, but that the most favourable terms as regards her marriage with her brother-in-law should be exacted from the English court.[1]

Henry, on the arrival of Estrada, and the display of his well-prepared letters, at once made overtures for the second marriage; and he was at length on the point of signing a new treaty of matrimonial alliance, when the death of his own queen, Elizabeth, caused him to change his plans. He would marry Katharine himself! The fact of her being his own daughter-in-law was an obstacle not even worthy of consideration by a solvent sovereign in those palmy days of Papal indulgence.

But Isabella would not hear of the proposal; and the court of Spain suggested that Henry should console himself with the Queen-Dowager of Naples, who was then residing at Valencia, and to whom Ferdinand offered a magnificent marriage portion, in the event of her accepting the hand of the King of England. Henry accordingly withdrew his pretensions to the hand of his daughter-in-law, and despatched a confidential envoy to Spain to examine and report upon the personal qualifications of the Queen of Naples; on the 23rd of June, 1503, in the palace at Richmond, Katharine of Aragon was formally affianced, not to her father-in-law Henry VII., but to her brother-in-law, more celebrated in the history of England and of the world as Henry VIII.[2]

[1] *Calendar*, etc., i., pp. 278-282.

[2] The treaty of marriage or betrothal, or rather an English translation of the Latin original, is printed in vol. i. of the *Calendar*, etc. (Spain), on pp. 306-308. The greater part of the treaty is devoted to stipulations as regards dowry and "*escudos* of 4s. 2d. of English money"; but articles 1 and 2 are perhaps of sufficient interest to justify their quotation in their entirety:—

1. Ferdinand and Isabella, as well as Henry VII., promise to employ all their influence with the court of Rome, in order to obtain the dispensation of the Pope necessary for the marriage of the Princess Katharine with Henry, Prince of Wales. The Papal dispensation is required, because the said Princess Katharine had on a former occasion contracted a marriage with the late Prince Arthur, brother of the present Prince of Wales, whereby she became related to Henry, Prince of Wales, in the first degree of affinity, and because her marriage with Prince Arthur

It has been recently suggested that it was not intended by the King of England that the marriage of Katharine with the Prince of Wales should ever be consummated, and that the treaty of alliance was forced upon Henry by Ferdinand. Be this as it may, it is at least certain that the young bride and bridegroom were kept apart, and scarce permitted to see one another, even in company, while Henry was carrying on the negotiations, for his own marriage with the Queen of Naples. And his negotiations, like most of those between the kings and queens of Europe in or about the year of grace 1503, ran by no means a straight or a rapid course. When this matrimonial alliance was first proposed by the Spanish sovereigns to Henry VII., the political state of Europe rendered the friendship of the King of England highly desirable to Ferdinand, while the goodwill of Ferdinand was equally valuable to Henry. Ferdinand was involved in a war with France, in consequence of the quarrels which had arisen respecting the partition of the kingdom of Naples, and Henry wished to make use of Ferdinand in order to obtain, through his influence, possession of the Earl of Suffolk. But as soon as Ferdinand had entered into negotiations for peace with France, the alliance with Henry became a subordinate consideration, and he accordingly proposed to Louis XI. that the intended bride of Henry should be married to King Alfonso of Naples—and he threw over the King of England without hesitation or apology.

Protest, as Henry well knew, was of no avail with such an antagonist as the King of Aragon. But an occasion soon presented itself for a practical retort, of which the English king was not slow to take advantage; and Henry was able to revenge himself by the execution of a treaty with Philip of Burgundy, the rival regent of Castile.[1]

was solemnised according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and afterwards consummated.

2. If the aforesaid dispensation be obtained, Ferdinand and Isabella on the one side, and Henry VII. on the other, promise that a marriage *per verba de præsenti* shall be contracted within two months after this treaty shall have been ratified by both the contracting parties.

[1] During the lifetime of Perkin Warbeck Henry looked upon Philip as one of his most determined enemies. The animosity existing between Henry and the archduke soon communicated itself to the two nations. The English were treated badly in Flanders, and the Flemings had much to suffer in England. But from the time that Philip leant more towards the policy of France the relations between him and England sensibly improved. The beginning of a much more intimate friendship between Henry and Philip is to be dated from their interview near Calais on Whit-Tuesday, in the year 1500. Henry seems to have appreciated the confidence placed in him by Philip, who came to the meeting without ceremony

Meanwhile the unfortunate Katharine was leading a hard life in England. A hostage, to all intents and purposes, in the hands of Henry; affianced but not married to his son; left without money by Ferdinand in order to annoy Henry, and stinted by Henry in order to coerce Ferdinand, she was constantly employed by her father and mother to conduct negotiations too shameless, or, in diplomatic language, too delicate, to be committed to the harder hands of de Puebla or of Ayala.

Not the least strange, and not the least disgraceful of the negotiations that she was privileged to conduct, was that for the marriage of her father-in-law, Henry VII.—the father of both her husbands—with her own sister Joanna, whom her own father had publicly asserted to be mad. A more humiliating position than that which she occupied when she was compelled to indite love letters from her father-in-law to her sister, it is hardly possible to imagine. A man of ordinary good feeling would have felt degraded by any participation in the sordid and shameless schemes of matrimonial alliance that a young and royal lady, herself intimately connected with the principal actors in the ever-shifting drama of international politics, was specially called upon to negotiate.

The dignified sadness of her story as *Queen Katharine*—insulted, divorced and abandoned—the unwilling heroine of the great tragic drama that was played in the reign of Henry VIII. of England, is known to all men, who extend to her, with one consent, their pity and their respect. But those only who know something of the seven dreary and disgraceful years that she spent in the palace of her father-in-law, before she was permitted to know, even for a season, the happiness of a husband's love, or to enjoy the great position of Queen of England, may alone understand the fulness of the measure of her wretchedness.

and without protection. Nor was he the only person on whom the behaviour of the young Archduke produced a favourable impression. He became popular with all the English who were present, and even De Puebla wrote that he was a much better prince than he was generally reported. The vanity of Henry must, moreover, have been flattered to a considerable extent, when he overheard the Archduke telling the Spanish ambassador that he regarded the King of England as his natural Protector. On the whole, they behaved to one another like father and son. Although Henry had afterwards occasionally to complain of the Archduke, they never ceased to call one another father and son down to the death of the latter. *Calendar* (Spain), etc., i., pp. 101, 102.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE RISE OF XIMENEZ.

(1436—1499.)

I.

The elevation or the removal of the virtuous Talavera to the Archiepiscopal See of Granada vacated the yet more important post of confessor to the Queen of Castile; and the fortunate ecclesiastic who was chosen to fill that great position was destined to occupy a place in the history of Spain and of Europe undreamed of by Torquemada himself.

Alfonso[1] Ximenez de Cisneros was born of honourable parents at Torrelaguna, on the southern slopes of the Guadarrama, not far from Madrid, some time in the year 1436. After some preliminary studies at Alcalà, already celebrated as a school of learning, he was admitted at an early age as a student at Salamanca. Having taken his degree at that university, he proceeded to Rome, and after a residence of nearly six years at the capital of Christendom, he obtained from the Pope Paul II. a Bull *expectative*,[2] preferring him to the first benefice of a certain value that should become vacant in the See of Toledo. Thus provided for, he at once returned to Castile, and on the

[1] According to Hefele, Gonzalez was his baptismal name—perhaps in addition to that of Alfonso. (Gonzalez was not a baptismal name but an ancestral surname borne by the Ximenes family.—H.)

[2] These Bulls had been condemned as long ago as 1179 by the third Lateran Council under Alexander III. Hardouin, *Col. Conc.*, vi., 1677. Innocent III. revived the practice by a subterfuge, causing the words of the grant to be somewhat varied; and Boniface VIII., while sternly condemning a *special* expectative, permitted the adoption of the *general* expectative—that is, a promise without specification of benefice. The entire system was finally abolished by the Council of Trent, 1563. Pallavicini, *Hist. Conc. Trident.*, lxxiii., c. vi. The grant to Ximenez was *generally expectative;* and was thus in accordance with the letter, if contrary to the spirit, of the existing ecclesiastical law.

death of the arch-priest of Uzeda, in 1473, took possession of his ecclesiastical office by virtue of this Papal grant.

But Alfonso Carrillo, the warlike Archbishop of Toledo, was a Churchman of what may be called the old school in Spain; and he showed his Castilian independence, and his practical contempt for the Pope[1] and his patronage, by lodging the *expectant* Ximenez not in the clergy-house, but in the prison, of Uzeda. Here the young priest remained in confinement, in spite of Bulls and benefices, for nearly six years, when he was glad (1480) to exchange his very unenviable position at San Torquato[2] for that of chaplain to the great Cardinal Mendoza, at that time Bishop of Sigüenza. Mendoza soon conceived so great a respect and affection for Ximenez that he nominated him to be his Grand Vicar, and entrusted him with a large share in the administration of his diocese. In addition to this spiritual jurisdiction, the Count of Cifuentes, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Moors, about the same time appointed Ximenez to be the agent or administrator-general of all his landed property which lay near Sigüenza.[3]

But in 1483 Mendoza was raised to the archiepiscopal throne of Toledo; the Count of Cifuentes obtained his liberty, and returned to his estates in Castile; and Ximenez, although he is said to have devoted his abundant leisure to the study of Oriental languages, was not the man to reconcile himself to the pale and uneventful life of a country priest. These real or supposed studies may perhaps have suggested to his maturer years the production of the great *Polyglot*. But Ximenez, though he became so great a patron of scholarship, was never himself a scholar. His life would have been wasted in the study. He was, for good or for evil, essentially a man of action.

He accordingly abandoned his benefice at Sigüenza, and following his friend and patron Cardinal Mendoza to Toledo, he entered the Franciscan Monastery of San Juan de les Reyes,[4] which had been lately founded by Ferdinand and Isabella. The new friar was now[5] nine-and-forty, a mature age for any one

[1] Pope Gregory had been succeeded at the Vatican by Sixtus IV. in 1473.

[2] Previous to his release, which was obtained by the intervention of the Countess of Buendia, a sister of the archbishop, he had been confined in the ecclesiastical prison of *San Torquato*.

[3] Marsollier, i., 47.

[4] He then changed his own Christian name of Alfonso to that of Francisco, by which he was ever afterwards known.

[5] A.D. 1484 or 1485.

to change his way of life. When a man close upon fifty forsakes the world for the cloister, it is usually to seek repose, and to find obscurity. Ximenez is perhaps in all history the most striking exception to the rule. For three years he lived in a hut in the precincts of the monastery at Castañar. For five years more he administered the affairs of the more important Confraternity at Salceda. At length, upon the conquest of Granada, and the promotion of Father Talavera to the newly created archbishopric, he was called, at the urgent request of Cardinal Mendoza, and to the astonishment of all Spain, to take his place in the queen's closet, in 1492; and on the death of the same eminent protector three years later, having secured the confidence of Isabella, he succeeded him in the more than princely office of Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain (1495.)[1]

Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, Cardinal of Spain, a great nobleman, an eminent ecclesiastic, and a powerful statesman, had exercised for full twenty years before his death so enormous an influence upon the affairs of his country, both at the court of Henry IV. and at the court of Isabella and Ferdinand, that he was generally spoken of as "the third King of Spain". The youngest son of the celebrated Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, the archbishop had ever been a loyal supporter of Henry IV.; but on the death of that monarch, he attached himself to the party of Isabella rather than to that of Joanna, and contributed largely by his wealth, his experience, and his commanding influence, to the ultimate success of her cause. One of the last, if not actually the last representative of the old school of aristocratic Churchmen who obtained great preferment in Spain, he maintained a princely state, and dispensed a magnificent hospitality. A troop of children was considered no disgrace to his orders; a liberal interpretation of the duties of his office brought with it no suspicion of heresy. A patron of learning and of learned men, and of all that was noble and worthy, generous in every sense of the word, he founded a college at Valladolid, and an hospital at Toledo, and he resisted the establishment of the Inquisition as a needless novelty in Spain.

How keen was his judgment of men, how prompt his appreciation of merit, may be seen in his early patronage of the unknown and disregarded country priest, whom he afterwards

[1] Alfonso de Carrillo had filled the see from 1446 to 1483—a primacy of nearly forty years! He was immediately succeeded by Mendoza, who lived till 1495.

introduced to Isabella as her confessor. How true he was to his Church and to his country, may be judged by the fact that he prevailed upon the queen to select the obscure friar to succeed him on the throne of Toledo.

If Ximenez was of humble birth, he was of Imperial ability. If he was bigoted, he was zealous. If he was hard, he was also great of heart. And if, as was said, it was in accordance with Mendoza's dying wishes, it certainly was in accordance with the queen's policy, that the most exalted dignity in Castile, to which the highest nobles were proud to aspire, and which carried with it an amount of power and influence unrivalled in Spain, should be bestowed upon a poor priest, a man of the people, whose severe life and inflexible will had alone commended him to his sovereign.

The story of the friar's reluctance to accept the archiepiscopal dignity is well known. Ferdinand, indeed, strenuously opposed his appointment to the office, which he had destined for one of his illegitimate children, Don Alfonso of Aragon, who, although but twenty-four years of age, was already a prelate of some standing, having been consecrated Archbishop of Saragossa at the early age of six years, on the death of the former primate, himself an illegitimate son of John II. of Aragon.[1] But Isabella behaved with her usual determination. She disregarded at once the entreaties of her husband and the protestations of her confessor;[2] and she obtained from Alexander VI., not one, but two Bulls, appointing Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros to the vacant See.[3] Thus Ximenez, who in 1492, was still an obscure friar, whose fifty-six years of life had been passed in comparative obscurity, found himself, less than three years later, the most powerful man in Spain,[4] the most magnificent ecclesiastic in

[1] The spiritual primacy of Aragon seems to have been carefully reserved for the bastards of the reigning kings. The suffragan bishops, no doubt, needed no serious supervision.

The Archbishops of Saragossa about this time, according to Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, were as follow :—

1460	...	John of Aragon.
1478	...	Alfonso of Aragon.
1520	...	John of Aragon.
1539	...	Ferdinand of Aragon.

[2] Hefele, cap. v.; Gomez, 939; Fléchier, lib. i., 34; Robles, c. xiii.

[3] Cardinal Mendoza died on 11th January; Ximenez was not consecrated till 11th October (1495).

[4] The Archbishop of Toledo, by virtue of his office, Primate of Spain and Grand Chancellor of Castile, was esteemed, after the Pope, the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in Christendom. His revenues at the close of the fifteenth century

Christendom, yielding a nominal obedience in spiritual affairs only to infallible Cæsar at Rome.

Isabella may not have been as imperious, but she was quite as determined as her confessor, and in a conflict of will the queen would probably have had her way. But it should not have been a task of extreme difficulty to persuade Ximenez to undertake the congenial task of ruling his fellows. No Churchman, surely, who ever received the tonsure was so pre-eminently fitted, both by his temper and by his intellect, for supreme command; and few men, lay or ecclesiastical, have displayed their power with more splendid arrogance. All the qualities and all the defects of his character were those of a man masterful, eager, impatient, zealous, headstrong, not so much a leader as a dominator of men. His first act on assuming the archiepiscopal functions was eminently characteristic of his temper. The younger brother of his predecessor, the living representative of the man to whom he owed everything that he enjoyed in this world, Don Pedro de Mendoza, had obtained the lucrative post of Adelantado, or local administrator of a district in the ecclesiastical province of Toledo. The new primate was asked by influential friends to confirm Don Pedro in his position. It was even suggested that the appointment would be agreeable to the queen. Ximenez promptly refused. A storm of indignation not unnaturally arose. Isabella was appealed to, but she prudently declined to interfere. The arrogance and the ingratitude of the new prelate were universally condemned. But when at length the indignation of the courtiers had spent itself without result, it was announced to the astonished *Adelantado* that Ximenez, of his own motion, and in spite of the intervention of impertinent strangers, had been pleased to confirm him in the office for which he was so admirably fitted.

Such a man is hardly likely to have preferred the submission of a Franciscan cloister to the throne of the Primate of Spain, with the incidental and tremendous authority of President of the Royal Council and Chancellor of Castile. Yet in one respect Ximenez maintained his monastic rule of life in his new and splendid position. A hair shirt, we are told, was ever worn under his magnificent robes. No linen was suffered to touch

exceeded 80,000 ducats, while the gross amount is said to have reached the enormous sum of 180,000. He could, moreover, muster a greater number of vassals than any other subject in the kingdom, and held jurisdiction over fifteen large and populous towns besides a great number of inferior places, etc. Navagiero, *Viaggio*, fol. 9.

his sacred person. A truckle bed was found by the side of the gorgeous couch on which the primate might have legitimately reposed. The food at his table was so plain as to call forth the remonstrance of so indulgent a censor of ecclesiastical manners as Pope Alexander VI.[1] And his biographers relate, with pardonable pride, that a needle and thread, with some pieces of coarse stuff, were, after his death, found hidden away in his cabinet, the materials with which the very hands of the proud yet humble cardinal had busied themselves in the patching of his monastic frock.

The first serious task of the new primate was the reform of the Monastic Orders; and the work was one which taxed the powers of Ximenez to the utmost, and which for a long time defied even his zeal, his vigour and his authority. Some twelve months before he had been prevailed upon to accept the pre-eminent position of Archbishop of Toledo, he had been called to the humbler yet important office of Provincial of the Franciscan Order in Spain, and he had addressed himself without delay to the work of improving the manners and morals of the regular clergy, an attempt in which he was warmly encouraged by Isabella. His new position enabled him to prosecute the ungrateful task with his usual vigour, and with greatly increased authority. Yet the work was not accomplished, nor, indeed, fairly undertaken, without the most powerful, the most obstinate, and the most wide-spread opposition. The general of his Order arrived from Rome, and denounced him in no measured language to Isabella (1495). His own brother, Bernardo, who had also assumed the habit of St. Francis, made an attempt upon his life at Alcalá de Henares;[2] and on his recovery from this murderous assault, he found that the Pope,

[1] The brief is dated 15th December, or perhaps 15th September, 1495. See Hefele, cap. vi., and authorities cited; and Baudier, *Vie de Ximenes*, ed. 1851, p. 197; Robles, i., 169-174.

[2] He was visited for this offence only with a short term of imprisonment; and he received on his release a considerable pension. It would have been unseemly that the brother of the Primate of Spain, and a friar to boot, should suffer either restraint or poverty. See Hefele, cap. vi. Ximenez had a third brother, Juan, who was more worthy of his position, if undistinguished in his personal career. He married a daughter of the Count of Barajas, and left a numerous family, whose descendants are still, it is said, recognised in Spain, and of whom one fortunate member, David (Sir David Ximenez), entered the British army in 1794, was present at the taking of Ischia in 1809, and commanded the 62nd Foot at Genoa in 1814. He also served with distinction in India, and was appointed full colonel of the 16th Foot and a major-general in 1837. After thirty-eight years of foreign service he died in England in August, 1848, a lieutenant-general and a knight of Hanover. Hefele, p. 57; *Army Lists*, 1794-1848.

unwilling directly to veto his projects of reform, had, during his illness, been prevailed upon to appoint a number of highly indulgent commissioners to *assist* him in the work of the purification of the monasteries.

Ximenez was not a man to brook such assistance, or to fail to perceive its true character; and the Papal commissioners were promptly sent back to Rome, whence Alexander retorted by a Bull on the 9th of November, 1496, peremptorily forbidding any one in Spain from proceeding any further in the matter of monastic reform. But Isabella cared nothing for Popes or Bulls, when they ran counter to her own designs. The *Great Captain* with a victorious army was within a few days' march of Rome; and the queen gave Alexander to understand that she intended to have her way. Thereupon, after a decent interval, the Pope, by a Bull of the 23rd of June, 1499, entrusted his faithful and well-beloved Ximenez with such ample powers as enabled him to deal promptly and fully with every friar in Castile.

The primate, it was justly judged, was not the man to leave the task half-performed; and the news of his dreadful intentions spread consternation throughout the religious houses of Spain. One last attempt, it was felt, must be made to maintain the old abuses; and Fray Alfonso de Albornoz, an envoy well skilled in the methods of Papal negotiation, was secretly despatched under the pretext of some private business to Rome, to protect the interests of the threatened friars, and especially of the chapter of Toledo, at the court of Alexander VI. But the secret was not well kept. Ximenez had time to employ the fleetest messenger in Spain to carry letters from Isabella to Garcilaso de la Vega, her minister resident at the Vatican; and Albornoz, as soon as he set foot on shore at the port of Ostia, was arrested, and sent back to Alcalá, as a prisoner of state. Nor was he released from his confinement, until Ximenez had reformed the friars to his heart's content, more than two years after his return as an unwilling traveller to Spain.

At the close of the fifteenth century the secular priests throughout the Peninsula were grossly ignorant; the regulars were grossly licentious. It is doubtful whether the Spanish ecclesiastics were more immoral, even if they were more ignorant, than those of France; and it is certain that in their lives and conversation they never even approached the scandalous and

unblushing depravity of the Italians.[1] Yet they most undoubtedly needed reform.

Direct testimony upon such matters is not likely to be found among contemporary records, but the side-lights upon the subject are abundantly sufficient for our illumination. Throughout the whole of the fourteenth century, for instance, we find that the Cortes of Castile promulgated repeated decrees against the insolence of the *barraganas de clerigos* or concubines of the priests, who were so numerous and so insolent that they called for special legislation for their class.[2] Noteworthy among such ordinances was that promulgated by the Cortes of Valladolid in the reign of Peter the Cruel in 1351. Yet even its severity can have had but little effect upon the manners of the clergy, for we find the ordinance re-enacted in yet more stringent terms in the Cortes of 1387 under John I. In 1405 the priests' ladies were compelled by an edict to wear a scarlet head dress, in order that they might be distinguished from other women. But neither their number nor their insolence appears to have been diminished by legislation; and they are constantly referred to by the various writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

As a scathing satire upon the vices of the contemporary clergy, the verses of Ruiz, the well-known arch-priest of Hita, are sufficiently noteworthy. Nor was the author, in those pre-Inquisition days, subjected to any prosecution or persecution on account of his plain speaking. It is true that he was himself a clerk. So also was Bartolomé Naharro, whose *Propaladia*, published as late as 1517, is not without a considerable freedom of speech upon the same subject. But long before the days of Naharro, old Ayala, a layman and a courtier, had sternly reproved the clerical disorders of his time in his *Rimado del Palacio*.[3] Nor is the covetousness and lewdness of the priests less severely handled by Juan de Padilla, himself a Carthusian friar, in his *Doce Triunfos de los doce Apostoles*, published in Seville even after the establishment of the Inquisition. The

[1] The Council of Aranda, in 1473, had been compelled to lay down that in future no man should be ordained a priest who did not understand Latin. This modest provision is far more eloquent than the most savage diatribes. Hefele, 116, 117.

[2] *Cortes de Valladolid*, art. 24. See P. Mérimée, *Pèdre I.*, p. 38-40 and note; and vol. i. of this history, Appendix on BARRAGANERIA, p. 404.

[3] Printed for the first time in the *Revista de Madrid*, for December, 1832. See also De Castro, *Protestantes Españoles*, cap. i.

facts of the case were so patent that no man ever sought to hide them.[1]

If the inferior clergy of the day, both secular and regular, were somewhat lax in their way of life, their ecclesiastical superiors were by no means more scrupulous. The better class of prelates, like Carrillo of Toledo, or the Fonsecas of Saragossa and of Seville, had, until the triumph of Isabella put an end to civil war in Spain, passed their time in the more or less honourable pursuit of arms. The bishops of the worser sort were distinguished at once by their violence, their licentiousness, and their disregard of the first principles of religion. A few noble and truly pious men, no doubt, were occasionally to be found among their number. But the conditions of life were not favourable to virtue. Fonseca, Archbishop of Santiago, had contrived by some bargain with Ferdinand to pass on his exalted office to one of his sons.[2] One of his immediate predecessors had been actually thrust out of his seat by the people at Compostella for having so far forgotten himself as to make an attempt upon the honour of a youthful worshipper[3] in the Cathedral of Santiago in 1458. The celebrated Archbishop of Toledo, Don Pedro Tenorio, at the end of the fourteenth century, was a professional agitator. The contemporary Bishop of Palencia was a military commander. So, in the fifteenth century (1432) were Zerezuela, Bishop of Osma, and Zuñiga, Bishop of Jaen (1456), Barrientos (1470), Bishop of Cuenca,

[1] And in our own time the orthodox Hefele (*Vie de Ximenes*, p. 185) maintains, partly as an excuse for the establishment of the Inquisition, and partly as a justification for the ecclesiastical reforms of Ximenez, that the Jews, who were unlike the Christians, "*très instruits en général*," had infected with their detestable errors a great part of the clergy and even the bishops. As for the general demoralisation of the religious orders in the fifteenth century see Johan de Trittenheim, *Liber Lugubris de Statu et Ruinâ Monast. Ord.*, c. i.-iii.

Trittenheim, himself an abbot, speaking of the state of the monasteries, as known to himself, says: "The monks when abroad were idle and vain, and when inside the walls were abandoned to carnal delights, with nothing of decorum to show but the habit; and even this was mostly neglected. No one thought of enforcing the forgotten discipline. The monasteries had become stables for clerks, or fortresses for fighting men, or markets for traders, or brothels for strumpets, in which the greatest of crimes was to live without sin." See Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition*, vol. iii., pp. 640-1; Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 163; Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, fol. 7 and 166; Waddingius, *Min. Ord.*, p. 108; Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, pp. 187 *et seq.*; Bernaldez, *Reyes Católicos*, 201; Lucio Marineo, *Cosas Memorables*, 165; Zurita, *Rey Hernando*, iii., 15.

[2] Fléchier, *Vie de Ximenes*, c. li., p. 495.

[3] *Que acababa de velarse.* The sex of the young person is uncertain. The prelate was Roderigo de Luna. The Lunas were a hot-blooded race. See *Hefele*, 186; Lafuente, tom. ix., 42.

and the more celebrated Alfonso Carrillo, Archbishop of Toledo.[1]

In the first battle of Olmedo in 1445, one archbishop and two bishops actually fought at the head of their knights. At the second battle of Olmedo in 1467 three other prelates played a similar part. As late as 1479 we hear of combatant bishops in the armies both of Spain and of Portugal. But Ximenez, with Oran before him, ought not to have been too hard upon the clerics who made no worse use of their time than in fighting.[2] From such coadjutors as these, and their legitimate successors, no help, nothing indeed but hindrance, was to be expected; but Ximenez went his own way, and it is admitted on all hands that his reforms were unsparing, impartial and tremendous. The Spanish clergy, both regular and secular, were reduced to order and to submission. They were made more respectable, more efficient, and as Churchmen vastly more powerful than before. And thus it came to pass that the Reformation found the Spanish Church already reformed, at least in morals and behaviour.

More than 1000 friars are said to have quitted their country, and passed over to Africa, preferring the liberty of self-indulgence under the protection of the Infidel, to submission to Ximenez in Spain. The figures may be, and probably are, exaggerated: but the story tells truly of the magnitude of the evil, and of the tremendous vigour of the cure.[3]

But the primate was not content with ecclesiastical reform. He persuaded the sovereigns to modify the incidence of the *Alcabala*, or tax on all bargains and sales of goods, which had been established to defray the expenses of the wars in Granada; and on the 7th of March, 1498, he laid the first stone of that great institution at Alcalá which is inseparably and gloriously associated with his memory. It is sometimes said that Ximenez procured the *abolition* of the Alcabala; but on the contrary, it was with the greatest difficulty, and by the support of the queen[4] against the whole council, that he was able to procure

[1] Lafuente, tom. ix., pp. 66-70.

[2] The fighting qualities of these Spanish bishops is treated by Señor Clemencin in the *Memoirs of the Royal Acad. of Hist. of Madrid*, vol. vi., pp. 388-391.

[3] *Mem. R. Acad. Hist.*, vi., 201; Zurita, *Hist. Rey Hernando*, iii., 15.

[4] The *complete abolition* of the impost was urged upon Ferdinand by Isabella in her will, long after this, in 1504. (Very far, however, from being abolished, the ten per cent. tax on all sales, or the equivalent in a lump sum in composition from certain privileged towns, continued to blight and ruin Spanish industry and trade until the eighteenth century. For an account of the havoc worked by this tax see the editor's *Spain: its Greatness and Decay*.—H.)

the adoption of certain modifications, conceived in the true spirit of enlightened finance, by which the amount of the contribution was reduced from 10 per cent. to 5 per cent.; the mode of collection was rendered less odious and less onerous; while the net amount recovered by the treasury was as great or greater than before. But in an evil hour, not long after this display of enlightenment and liberality, Ximenez turned his attention to Granada.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

COLUMBUS.

(1495—1501.)

That the 1500 adventurers who sailed with Columbus on his second voyage should have turned out indifferent colonists, was only what might have been fairly expected of them. But their turbulence, their idleness, their cruelty, and their lawlessness exceeded all that could have been thought possible, and defied at once the power and the wisdom of the great navigator.[1]

Columbus was perhaps one of the best and noblest men who has ever acquired fame on this earth; patient, generous, just, considerate, liberal; but he was by no means fitted to command a company of professional robbers, or to make himself respected by a gang of pirates. The determination of the viceroy that every colonist should work, rendered him above all things obnoxious to the adventurers. But no man in the little company showed himself more impatient of authority than Father Boil, who sent back by every ship the most tremendous accusations against his chief.[2] As the result of this ecclesiastical delation, a royal commissary, one Aguado, was despatched from Seville early in 1496; on whose coming Columbus set sail from Haiti for Spain, that he might lay his own justification before the sovereigns; and he arrived at Cadiz on the 11th of June, 1496. Isabella was still in the full vigour of womanhood, earnest, appreciative, sympathetic. The admiral was well received. But the new world had ceased to interest Ferdinand, or to excite any serious attention among the people in Spain. The king and queen, moreover, were both fully occupied with negotiations and intrigues in Europe. America, distant and disregarded, was

[1] *Gente aventurera, codiciosia, discola, viciosa, y turbulenta.* Lafuente, x., 134.

[2] Lafuente, x., 135, 136.

forced to wait. And thus it was, that in spite of the early success and the constant zeal of Columbus, and of the magnitude of the interests that he represented, it was two years before he was enabled once more to return to his languishing colony in the western seas.

The source of all the failures and troubles in the new world had undoubtedly lain in the unfitness of the colonists selected to accompany the expedition; in the turbulence of the soldiers and sailors in the fleet; in the undue proportion of men of bad character in the little band of adventurers. Bishop Foncesa[1] could think of no better mode of reforming the community, and introducing habits of order and industry into the discredited colony, than by despatching a cargo of convicts and criminals stowed away on board six ships, which sailed from San Lucar on the 30th of May, 1498.[2]

On the 30th of May, 1498, Columbus sailed from Spain for the third time, steering a more southerly course than before, and making the Island of Trinidad and the mainland of South America on the last day of July of the same year. But no sooner had the admiral started, than Ferdinand began to repent him of the favours that he had conferred upon the foreigner. Nor was the king's jealousy suffered to languish for want of encouragement at court. It is idle to seek to fathom the hearts of kings, or to account for every action of the men and women of 400 years ago; let it suffiice to record the fact that on the 21st of May, 1499, a Commander of Calatrava, Francisco Bobadilla, was invested with a commission to sail to the West to dismiss and supersede Columbus.[3]

Ignorant, insolent, cruel and vain, a true beggar on horseback, Bobadilla was not chosen so much to supersede as to disgrace the Queen's admiral. The Catholic kings were not such incapable judges of men as to suppose that the conceited Calatravan would prove a more capable administrator than Christopher Columbus. Landing at the port of St. Domingo, and finding the viceroy absent on some business in the country, the envoy proceeded to break into his house, to seize his papers

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Burgos. He must not be confounded with any of the Fonsecas who filled, in hereditary succession, the archiepiscopal see of Santiago de Compostella from 1460 to 1525. *Cf.* Gams, *Series Episcoporum.*

[2] As to the shipping of convicts, see the *Real Provision* of Medina del Campo, dated 22nd July, 1497, preserved in the archives of the Duke of Veragua.

[3] The commission to Bobadilla is dated March, 1499; the actual despatch of Bobadilla, July, 1500; the return of Columbus, December, 1500.

and valuables, and to load him on his return to the town with chains and fetters. Having thus asserted his authority, he stowed away the discoverer of the New World in the hold of a small caravel, and shipped him off to Spain.

That Columbus was possessed of one of the greatest and noblest natures that have ever been given to man, his conduct on this homeward voyage is alone sufficient to prove. Dignified and uncomplaining in the presence of Bobadilla, affable and considerate to the officers who commanded his prison-ship, confident of redress at the hands of the sovereigns whom he had served so well, he was cheered alike by his knowledge of the justice of his cause on earth, and his simple and unwavering trust in the Providence of God. And on the 17th of December, 1500, the grey-haired prisoner, accused of no crime but simple greatness, stood, without humiliation and without arrogance, before the sovereigns of Spain at Granada.

What we now understand by the words *Public Opinion* had no existence in Europe in the last year of the fifteenth century, yet every honest man who had ears to hear and a heart to feel, was consumed with indignation at the enormity of the royal ingratitude. The sovereigns, no doubt, felt that they had gone too far. Columbus was received not as a prisoner but as a friend, not with reproaches but with promises of future favours. No more. For a year he lived at Granada, while Ferdinand was despoiling his cousin of Naples, and Isabella was banishing her Moorish subjects from Andalusia—an example to all ages of dignified cheerfulness, of uncomplaining and unrepining resignation. For in an age when religion had reached its lowest depth as a moral force in the world, and among men whose Christian professions were commonly a reason for persecution, a cloak for rapacity, an excuse for every vice and every crime, Columbus was filled with a true religious spirit, deep, hearty, thorough; a spirit which led him unharmed through the paths of superstition, of cruelty and of intolerance, and dignified his daily life with acceptable counsels of perfection. Dispossessed, slighted, plundered, Columbus maintained his cheerfulness, and found comfort and consolation in religious meditation[1] and in the study of Holy Scripture, while Bobadilla was vexing the colonists and murdering the natives in his Western world.

At length, after fourteen months' delay, Ferdinand and

[1] He actually wrote a work on Biblical prophecy, existing in MS. in the Columbian Library at Seville. But his geographical studies were not neglected.

Isabella judged that the Calatravan had filled up the measure of his iniquities in St. Domingo, and they commissioned, not Columbus, but another Calatravan, Fray Nicolas de Ovando, to proceed to the Indies to succeed him. Columbus had sought further employment in vain. Honour and profit were not for him. He had done his work of discovery. An obscure member of a religious order would make a more fitting Governor-General of the New World.

The expedition that was fitted out under the command of Ovando was of a very different character from anything that had been entrusted to Columbus. A fleet of thirty-two fine ships, with 2500 chosen colonists, and an immense amount of live stock, tools, seeds, plants and supplies of every kind—all that Columbus had so long asked for, all that should have been sent so long before, was placed at the disposal of the Calatravan. Columbus protested against the appointment of Ovando, as a formal infringement of his legal rights and privileges. But laws ran as kings pleased in Spain in the year 1502. Ovando sailed on the 13th of February. Columbus remained at Granada.[1]

During the next year the admiral turned his attention to a strangely different enterprise, which, however, appeared to him to have been foretold in Biblical prophecy as the complement of his discoveries in the West. He searched the Scriptures with great ardour and enthusiasm, seeking for references to his own discovery of the Indies, and to the ensuing expulsion of the infidel from the holy places; and he was guided and assisted in these strange researches by his friend Gaspar Gorricio, a monk in the Carthusian Monastery of Santa Maria de las Cuevas at Seville.

The result of these studies was a work which he entitled *Manipulus de auctoritatibus dictis ac sententiis et prophetiis circa materiam recuperandæ sanctæ civitatis et montis Dei Sion.* This interesting manuscript volume, now known as the *Profecias,* is

[1] It should be mentioned that Columbus started on his fourth voyage from Cadiz only three months after Ovando had sailed. In a royal warrant dated 14th March, 1502 (Fernandez Navarette, vol. i., 277), the Catholic kings thus addressed Columbus: "Be assured that your imprisonment grieved us much, as you saw, and as is publicly known; for as soon as we knew of it we ordered it to be revoked. You know also the favour with which we have always treated you: and it is now more than ever our intention to honour you and treat you very well. The grants we formerly made to you shall be fully complied with, as stated in the privileges you hold; and you and your children shall duly enjoy them. If it be necessary to confirm the grants anew, we will do so." Columbus was then authorised to proceed on his fourth voyage, and sailed on 11th May, 1502; but as he wrote, "his heart was sore and filled with misgivings". For all grants, etc., at this time see *Columbus' Book of Privileges*, printed in facsimile by Messrs. Stevens, Harisse & Barwick.—H.

still preserved in the Columbian Library at Seville. It contains all the prophecies in the Bible which appear to have any bearing on the matters in hand, and is preceded by a letter addressed to the sovereigns, in which Columbus endeavoured to stir their hearts in favour of an enterprise which seemed to him to be at once for the glory of Spain, and for the good of Christendom.[1]

[1] Clements Markham, *Life of Christopher Columbus* (1892), pp. 214, 215. (In his famous letter, written when a prisoner on his homeward voyage (printed in facsimile by Mr. Stevens), Columbus already shows that he considered his discovery to have been divinely inspired. "Of the new heaven and earth which our Lord made when St. John was writing the Apocalypse, after what was spoken by the mouth of Isaiah, He made me the messenger and showed me where it lay."—H.)

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE MORISCOS.

(1499-1502.)

For seven years both Isabella and Ferdinand kept faith with their Moslem subjects, who lived and prospered under the mild and sympathetic administration of their Alcaide or Administrator-General, Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, and their Archbishop, Ferdinand of Talavera,[1] good men both, and honourable, Castilian Christians of the best school, humane, enlightened and generous.[2] And the Moors of Granada had little reason to regret their own contemptible Boabdil, or even the cruel and violent uncle whom he had betrayed.

The *Capitulacion para la entrega de Granada*, of the 25th of November, 1491, as well as the inevitable *Capitulacion Secreta* of the same date[3] which may both be seen to this day preserved in the archives at Simancas, are worthy not only of study but of admiration. The provisions for the perfect liberty of the Moors in the future, as regards their religion and their laws, are both numerous and precise; and forbid even the gentlest attempts at conversion.[4] Had the treaty been fairly carried out, the condition of the subject Moors would have been similar to that enjoyed by the Indian and Cypriote Moslems under modern English rule, at the present day, save in that whereas English judges are allowed

[1] The best authorities for the life of Talavera are, perhaps, P. Sigüenza, *Hist. de la orden de S. Gerónimo*, ii., 31; Jorge de Torres, *Vida de Talavera;* Gerónimo de Madrid, *Vida.* See also Lafuente, x., 85.

[2] Talavera, however, had showed but little enlightenment in the matter of Columbus. Tendilla and Talavera lived on such good terms in their respective governments that Peter Martyr speaks of them as having one soul in two bodies. P. Martyr, *Epist.*, 219.

[3] They are both printed in full as an Appendix to vol. ix. of Lafuente's *Historia de España.*

[4] See especially Art. 32. The Great Captain is said to have had a large share in the preparation of the convention. See *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., tom. viii.; and generally, tom. xi. and li.

to administer Mohammedan law in India, and to a limited extent in Cyprus, it was provided by the fifteenth clause of the Granada treaty that any questions arising between Moor and Moor, "sean juzgadas por *sus alcadis* segund costumbre de los Moros"; and a tribunal *de medietate religionis* was established by the forty-second clause, with jurisdiction in all cases of dispute between Moors and Christians. The whole treaty breathes a spirit of generous toleration, which was no doubt largely due to the influence of Gonsalvo de Cordova.

But Spain had undergone a great change between 1492 and 1499. The Inquisition had not laboured in vain. The Moors had been conquered, the Jews had been expelled, Torquemada was at Seville, Roderic Borgia was at Rome; the Crown was more absolute, the Church was more aggressive; Isabella had become less considerate, Ferdinand more greedy, the nobility less powerful, the commonalty more bigoted. And towards the end of the year 1499, Ximenez, interrupting, as Hefele has it, the good work of reforming the Christian clergy, that he might devote himself to the conversion of the Moors, made his appearance at Granada in the train of the Catholic sovereigns. Dissatisfied at once with the methods and with the progress of Talavera, he soon caused himself to be associated with the local archbishop in the spiritual charge of his diocese. Thus, with the approbation of Isabella, and without opposition on the part of his gentle colleague, Ximenez assumed the entire direction of affairs in Granada, and the Moors were soon made to feel the effect of this change of masters.

In vigour, at least, the Archbishop of Toledo had no rival in Christendom. His religious feelings, his political aspirations, his personal pride, were all offended by the presence of a Moslem society in Spain; and that which offended Ximenez was usually swept away. At first he contented himself with persuasion. Rich presents, gifts of money, promises of future favour, were showered upon the leading citizens, and were not without their effect. Of the old Arab race not many were left in Granada. Few had been found even under the later Moorish kings; still fewer remained after the disgraceful surrender of Boabdil. Upon the mixed multitude whose conversion was taken in hand by Ximenez, a judicious mixture of threats and largesses had a very powerful influence. The citizens were baptised in droves, and the sacred rite was publicly administered by the undignified method of aspersion.[1]

[1] "By means of a mop." Prescott. *Cf.* Baudier, 204, and Marsollier, i., 319.

Yet fire as well as water was employed in the conversion of the city. For the burning of the Moslems themselves the time had not yet arrived; but their books at least might pay the penalty of heterodoxy, and feed the ready flames of persecution. An immense pile of MSS. of every description, works on theology and philosophy, copies of the Koran, commentaries on Aristotle, books of science, of poetry, of history, of medicine, of mathematics, were collected by pious hands, and burned by Ximenez in the great square of Granada. Many of these MSS., we are told, were triumphs of caligraphy, and of the now almost forgotten art of the illuminator; many were in gorgeous bindings;[1] but nothing was sacred for the spoiler. Copies of the Koran worth more than their weight in gold, records and treatises beyond price, all were involved in the barbarous holocaust.

Of the character of the destruction there is no doubt nor controversy. Of the number[2] of the destroyed there is no certain record. The Spanish apologists, while maintaining that the nature of the works, at once odious and contemptible, rendered their destruction a most estimable and praiseworthy performance, are most illogically anxious to minimise the number of the destroyed. Five thousand is the lowest figure that has been suggested, while 2,000,000 has been reached by the extravagant imagination of an Andalusian reviewer. The number, in any case, was very great. The loss was irreparable. Nor is the example of an ignorant and narrow intolerance, of reckless and irresponsible zeal, any the less shocking, when we reflect that it was the work of the learned editor of translations of the Bible, the munificent founder of a renowned university.

Nor was the sacred literature of the Moslem replaced by anything more appropriate for the New Christians. Talavera, indeed, had caused a portion of the Old and New Testament, of the Missal, and of various devotional works to be translated from Latin into Arabic, for the use of his Moorish catechumens. But before the MS. had passed into the hands of the printer, the primate interfered and forbade the dangerous publication.[3]

[1] Baudier, 205, has it—5000 volumes of Alcorans, *artistement bien reliez et ornez de fermoirs et cornières d'argent.*

[2] Condé is our authority for putting the number as high as 80,000, and his record or estimate has been accepted as reasonable by the most trustworthy writers who have given any attention to the subject. But it is obvious that any figure must merely be taken as meaning—like the modern Greek μυριάδες—a great many.

[3] His arguments *ad hoc* are pretty fully and somewhat naïvely given by Marsollier, vol. i., lib. iii., pp. 350-55. A dozen years later, on 20th June, 1511,

The people, said he, had always been kept in ignorance by their ecclesiastical chiefs, and it was best that they should so remain.

The way in which a modern orthodox Spaniard can bring himself to regard this melancholy *Auto de Fé* is surely worthy of record. "The books of chivalry," says Señor Simonet, "were far less pernicious than those of the Moslems; and yet the greatest intellect of Spain proposed in the famous examination in *Don Quixote*, that they should be all burnt without appeal."[1] To call Cervantes as a witness in favour of ignorance, and to cite one of the most apposite satires in the whole of Spanish literature as an argument *in favour* of book-burning, is a truly remarkable and astounding fact in the history of national intelligence.[2]

The primate's next step was the publication of an ordinance forbidding the inhabitants, under pain of imprisonment and corporal chastisement, to speak evil of the Christian religion, or of those who professed it; and the proclamation was so liberally interpreted by the royal officers, that in a few days the prisons were filled with accused persons, who were treated with the utmost severity. Nor was any one released until he had abjured the faith of Islam, and consented to embrace Christianity.[3] As time went on, the "diligent rigour," as an admiring chronicler has it, of the great Franciscan became still more exacting. A Moor of royal lineage, Al Zegri by name, having been invited to

Ferdinand, in the name of Joanna, issued at Seville an edict that all converted Moriscos who possessed Arabic books of any description, were to hand them over within fifty days *á nuestras justicias*, to be burned, under pain of forfeiture of all their movable or immovable property. Books on medicine, philosophy and chronicles *might* be handed back to the owners, if the justices thought fit. *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xxxix., pp. 447-451.

[1] Simonet, *Ximenez de Cisneros* (Granada, 1885).

[2] The contemporary Alvar Gomez de Castro, *De Rebus gestis a F. Ximenez*, gives the number of MSS. burned as 5000; and this number is adopted by Rohrbacher (*Hist. Univers. de l'Eglise Catholique*, lib. lxxxiii.).

Señor Simonet (*ubi supra*) condemns in no measured language Robles (*Vida de Ximenez de Cisneros*, 1604); and others who have suggested a higher figure, and he derides, not without reason, a contemporary Spanish writer, who, without citing any fresh authority, speaks of 2,000,000 MSS. as having been burnt. Señor Simonet, however, applauds the cardinal for the holocaust, whatever may have been the number, inasmuch as he is sure that all the books burnt must have related to the *dañada ley y secta* of Mohammed (p. 9), and inasmuch as it is said that Ximenez reserved *three hundred* MSS. from the mass, for the university or *Colegio Mayor* at Alcalá de Henares, it must be supposed that all the rest were worthless as well as damnable. Señor Simonet's little book is interesting if only to show how little some Spaniards have learnt or forgotten since the days of Torquemada and Lucero.

[3] Marsollier, 321.

a religious conference for the purpose of conversion, had withstood the arguments, and rejected the gifts of the primate; and Ximenez had retorted by the arrest and imprisonment of so independent a Nonconformist. The arguments of the jailors proved more potent than those of Ximenez himself, and after a few days' experience of the methods of an ecclesiastical prison,[1] Al Zegri was restored to freedom as a professing Christian. The Almighty, it was said, had deigned to pay him a special visit in his retirement, and had enjoined him not only to abjure the faith of his fathers, but to compel all his brethren to follow his example. He was baptised under the Christian names, not of Alfonso or Francisco, as might have been expected, in honour of Ximenez, but of Gonsalvo Hernandez, in memory of the *Great Captain* with whom he had contended in more loyal warfare, in the course of the last siege of Granada.

The endurance of the population, however, had by this time been strained to the utmost. An insult offered by one of the primate's servants to a Moorish girl in the Albaycin was the signal for the expected rising. And Ximenez found himself besieged in his palace by the citizens in arms. The tumult thus excited by his violent and intemperate zeal was like to have developed into a revolution in peaceful Granada. But the noble generosity of Al Zegri himself saved Ximenez from the first shock of the fury of the populace;[2] and when the personal influence and chivalrous devotion of the Moorish prince had checked the onslaught of an indignant people, the gentleness of Talavera and the discretion of Mendoza hushed the storm that had been so rashly raised. The venerable archbishop made his way, without guards or attendants, into the very midst of the turmoil. The Count of Tendilla, bareheaded in the Albaycin, disclaimed any intention of armed interference, and offered his own children as hostages, if only the citizens would return to their homes and to their duty. The Moors, touched by such courage and such generosity, forgot the encroachments of Ximenez, and promptly laid down their arms; and within a few hours Granada was as tranquil and as industrious as before.

Ximenez, however, after various letters to Ferdinand and Isabella, thought it best to make his way to Seville, partly that he might excuse himself to the sovereigns for the recent outbreak at Granada, which he was able to attribute to the

[1] Baudier, 204 and note.

[2] Marsollier, i., lib. iii., p. 332-3.

wickedness of the Moslems, rather than to the intemperance of his own zeal, and partly that he might concert measures for the complete reversal of the policy of Talavera and Mendoza at Granada. After some consultation with the king and queen, the views of Ximenez prevailed, and commissioners were immediately despatched to Granada with instructions to continue the good work that had been temporarily suspended by the departure of the primate. The Moors for the moment offered no further resistance. Conformity and emigration thinned the ranks of Islam. And when the inevitable rebellion broke out early in the ensuing year, it was confined to the inhabitants of a few outlying towns, and to the hardy mountaineers of that "land of warriors," the wild region of Alpujarras.[1]

Yet, insignificant as the rising might have at first sight appeared, the sovereigns at once realised the importance of promptly checking a rebellion in the country which it had taken so many years to conquer. Far from despising an apparently insignificant enemy, they ordered Gonsalvo de Cordova, the hero of Granada and the most accomplished general in Europe, to take immediate steps for the suppression of the local insurrection. The *Great Captain* was not a man to dally, and within a few days he entered the hostile province at the head of a small army. Several fortified cities had already been occupied by the insurgents, and of these the first to be attacked by the Catholic troops was Huejar, some miles to the south of Granada. The whole neighbourhood having been flooded by the inhabitants as a means of defence, the heavily-armed Spanish horsemen, including Gonsalvo himself, were well-nigh drowned before they could advance to the assault. But as soon as he had reached the walls the *Great Captain*, who in all his experience in command had not forgotten how to fight, planted the first scaling-ladder, cut down with his own hand the foremost Moslem who opposed him, leaped into the city, followed by his troops, and speedily reduced it to subjection. By order of Ferdinand the whole of the garrison were put to the sword, the women and children sold as slaves, and the town given up to indiscriminate pillage. The next place to fall into the hands of the Christians was Lanjaron, *el paraiso de las Alpujarras*, whose inhabitants experienced the same amount of mercy as those of Huejar. The Count of Lerin, moreover, gave proof of his

[1] Arabic, *Albuxarat*, said to be derived from *Alba Serra*, Ford (1878), pp. 418, 419, or from *al bushera*, grass, Ford (1845), i., 397.

Christian zeal at Lanjaron, between Granada and Almeria, by blowing up a mosque filled with women and children; and the effects of the establishment of the Inquisition, and the personal influence of Ferdinand, were abundantly felt in the different manners in which the war was carried on from that of only ten years before. The Moors, however, soon sued for peace, craving only that the terms should be settled by Gonsalvo de Cordova; and the conditions of the treaty that was at length granted by Ferdinand were, on the whole, more favourable than could have been expected under the circumstances.

As soon as tranquillity was restored, and Gonsalvo had retired once more to Cordova, it became apparent that a new policy, political and ecclesiastical, was to prevail in Granada; no longer the policy of Mendoza and Talavera; not even that of the *Great Captain*, but the "Thorough" policy of Ximenez. The very name of Moor was erased from the vocabulary of Christian Spain, and the remnant of the once dominant race were to be known in future as the *Moriscos*.

The Christian soldier had now taken his departure. But the Christian priest appeared; and behind him lay the entire power of Spain—the court, the army, the Church and the Holy Office. The black battalions descended upon Granada, promising innumerable advantages, both temporal and eternal, to those who should embrace the Cross; and threatening with the most terrible penalties, in the present and future world, all who should neglect the opportunity which was then finally offered to them, of conversion to the True Faith. The results were exactly what might have been expected. The weaker, the more fraudulent, the more timid recanted. The more sturdy, the more bigoted, the more independent once more rebelled. But this time it was not in the wild Alpujarras but on the western frontier of Granada that the standard of revolt was raised. Nor was Gonsalvo de Cordova any longer at liberty to take command of the royal forces. For Ferdinand of Aragon had at length resolved to possess himself of the kingdom of Naples; and the *Great Captain* was once more on his way to Italy. His elder brother, Don Alfonso de Aguilar, was entrusted with the task of putting down the Moorish rebellion.

Don Alfonso was a brave soldier, but he had no pretensions to be a general, and he lacked not only the skill but the good fortune of his more distinguished brother. His dispositions were unskilfully made, and rashly carried out; the commander was slain in single combat by a Moorish knight in the very first

engagement, while his army, dispersed and disorganised, was well nigh cut to pieces in the mountainous country of the Sierra Bermeja [1] (18th March, 1501). Ferdinand at once assumed the command of such troops as he could hastily collect. The rebels had no leader; and alarmed rather than encouraged by the success of their operations, they disbanded their forces, and sought pardon and peace at the hands of the Catholic king. Ferdinand, whose attention was fully taken up with his intrigues in Italy, was content with the submission of the rebels. The uselessness of armed resistance had been made apparent to the Moors, both in town and country. The Christian sovereigns were free to deal with their unhappy subjects in Granada without fear of resistance or opposition.

Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, had died in 1498; and his successor, Deza, was encouraged by Ximenez to demand at the hands of the Catholic kings, the establishment of the Inquisition in Granada.[2] So flagrant a violation of the royal engagements to the subject Moors was at first sight discountenanced by Isabella, who actually refused her sanction to the scheme. But her approbation was easily obtained to an *extension* of the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Cordova, over the entire province of Granada—a happy solution of an embarrassing question of good faith.

Thus was Granada finally abandoned to the tender mercies of the dreadful Lucero; [3] and soon afterwards all show of toleration was utterly cast away. The policy of *Thorough* had finally prevailed. On the 20th of July, 1501, the sovereigns issued an edict abolishing the faith or practice of Islam throughout Granada, condemning all Nonconformists to death—with the usual addition of confiscation of goods.[4] But even this was not judged suffi-

[1] "The Red Hills" near Ronda.

[2] Llorente, i., cap. x. (2).

[3] The chief inquisitor at Cordova was a Dominican of the name of Lucero, called by Peter Martyr, *El Tenebroso*, a man distinguished, even among the inquisitors, for his excessive harshness and cruelty. Llorente, i., cap. x. (2), (4) and (5). Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 333; and other letters printed by Llorente, not included in the published collections. The Inquisition was not formally introduced into Granada until 1524.

[4] *Pragmaticas del Reyno* (1501), fol. 6. The mission of Peter Martyr to the Sultan of Egypt, which was despatched from Spain within one month from the promulgation of this celebrated edict, is an interesting example of the completeness with which the Spanish sovereigns did their work. Fearing lest their unjust and savage treatment of their Moslem subjects might provoke reprisals in Egypt, they sent an envoy of position to look after their interests in that country. That they themselves should cease from persecution in Spain was of course not to be

cient. Less than seven months afterwards, on the 12th of February of the year 1502, it was further ordered that the entire Moslem population, men, women and children of twelve years old and upwards, should quit the kingdom within two months ;[1] and by a savage refinement of cruelty, the exiles were forbidden on pain of death to emigrate to neighbouring Africa, or even to the distant empire of the Ottoman, where a Moslem population would have received them at least with brotherly pity. As this sanguinary provision was found to have been evaded, a further ordinance was issued on the 17th of September, 1502, decreeing that no one, of any race or religion, should quit the Peninsula for the space of two years, without the express permission of the sovereigns. Shut out thus from every possible refuge, with no alternative but death or baptism, the Moslem submitted, and while he fervently whispered that there was no God but the God of Mohammed ; he bowed his head before the uplifted cross of the inquisitor.[2]

thought of, any more than that the Egyptians should be permitted to persecute in Egypt. But as Spain had no army to despatch to Babylon—as Cairo was then called—their diplomacy was as bold as it seems to have been successful. Peter Martyr, *Epist.*, 224.

[1] Llorente, i., v., 3. Bad deeds, like curses, it is said, sometimes "come home to roost". From this settlement of the Spanish Moors on the coasts of north Africa we may date the rise of the piratical states of Barbary. For partly from necessity, and partly from a not unnatural desire to be revenged upon the Christian Spaniards, the Moors fitted out small squadrons of pirate cruisers. At first they seized only such Spanish ships as they could meet with, landing from time to time on the Spanish coasts, and carrying off both slaves and treasure to their new homes in Africa. But the expedition of Charles V. against Tunis, unsuccessful as it was, led the Moors of Barbary to call in to their aid the famous Turkish pirate Barbarossa, who was moved by his successes against Spain to make himself master of the Government of Algiers, while his brother Haradin possessed himself of Tunis, and another Levantine Turk made himself master of Tripoli. Thus strengthened along the entire Mediterranean coast of Africa, the Moorish or Barbary rovers were able to attack without fear or scruple the ships of all the Christian nations that sailed in the Mediterranean. Anderson, *History of Commerce*, i., 703-4, and ii., 44-5.

[2] Upon these and many other points connected with the history and position of the Moors under Christian rule, known in *Arabic* as MUDEJARES, in *Spanish* as MORISCOS, see Albert de Circourt, *Histoire des Mores Mudejares et des Morisques sous la domination des Chrétiens d'Espagne dans les xvi.-xvii. siècles.* Paris, 3 tom., 1846, and *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., tom. viii., xi. and li.

CHAPTER L.

THE GREAT CAPTAIN.

(1500—1504.)

While their most Catholic Majesties were justifying their bad faith in their treatment of the Moors by their zeal in the cause of Christianity, they were engaged in negotiations even more treacherous with regard to the dominions of their most Christian friend and ally, Frederic of Naples. Charles VIII., King of France, had died in April, 1498, and had been succeeded by his cousin, Louis XII.; and this prince was no sooner established upon the throne, than he entered into a league with the Republic of Venice to drive Ludovico Sforza out of Milan. This laudable project was speedily put into execution; and thus the man who had first invited the French into Italy in 1495, was, by a species of retributive justice, the first to lose his own dominions in 1500; a fate which, if rights of sovereignty were measurable by merit, he, for many reasons, most justly deserved.

In course of time, Louis turned his attention towards Naples, whence the French had been so lately expelled. The only obstacle to his success in that direction lying in the hostility of Spain, the king immediately entered into negotiations with Ferdinand;[1] and on the 11th of November, 1500, a treaty was signed at Granada, which can only be characterised as one of the most unblushing acts of national robbery ever perpetrated by two exalted brigands. By the terms of this treaty Naples was to be taken from Frederic, the reigning sovereign, with whom both parties were at peace, and of whom one was his near relation and close ally; and his entire territory was to be divided between Louis of France and Ferdinand of Spain. It need hardly be added that a religious basis was considered essential to this

[1] These negotiations had already been tentatively opened by Ferdinand before the death of Charles VIII.—H.

unholy alliance; and that the condition of the Ottoman empire was made the pretext for the occupation of Naples, whence alone, it was said, the combined operations of the eminently Christian powers could be effectively undertaken against the Turk.

Partly with a view to giving colour to what may be called the crusading element in this treaty, and partly in order to have an army on the spot, to act either for or against the French, according to the turn the negotiations might take, and so strengthen his hands in the conduct of future negotiations, Ferdinand fitted out a fleet of about sixty sail, and embarked an army of nearly five thousand picked men under the command of Gonsalvo de Cordova. The expedition sailed from Malaga in the month of June, 1500, and, after a short stay at Messina, proceeded to Corfu, where Gonsalvo united his forces with those of the Venetians, and at once laid siege to the strongly-fortified place of St. George in Cephalonia, which had been lately taken from Venice by the Ottomans. The Turkish defenders did not number over 700 men, but they were commanded by the brave Gisdar, who, when Gonsalvo summoned him to surrender, assured the envoy that the whole garrison were ready to sacrifice their lives rather than to fail in their duty to their sovereign Bajazet. Such men as these were not to be easily conquered, and the siege was protracted over two months. A general attack was at length decided upon, and numerous breaches having been made in the fortifications by the artillery, the place was carried by assault. Gonsalvo and the Venetian Admiral Pesaro led the columns of attack in person. The Turks fought with the greatest bravery and determination, and the garrison was killed almost to a man before the banners of Santiago and St. Mark at length floated over the battlements.

Of the estimation in which the Ottomans of the fifteenth century were held by the other powers of Europe, we are apt at the present day to be forgetful. The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 had filled all the Christian sovereigns with dismay; and the name of Bajazet was almost as terrible to the powers whose territories were washed by the Mediterranean, as was that of Napoleon 300 years later in Europe. The taking of Cephalonia was one of the first successes of the Christian arms against the Turks; and the victory was of great importance,[1] not only on account of the value of the island from a

[1] Commanding as it did the mouth of the Adriatic, and forming a base of operations for expeditions against the neighbouring coasts of Italy.

military point of view, but also in that it checked the advance of the Infidel, and gladdened the heart of the Christian. When Gonsalvo arrived at Syracuse he was met by an ambassador from the Venetian republic, bearing a congratulatory address, and the diploma or patent of a Venetian citizen for the conqueror of the Ottoman, together with a magnificent present of plate, silk stuffs, furs, rich brocades, and horses, as a testimony of the gratitude of the republic for the services he had rendered to their state and to all Christendom. Gonsalvo, with his accustomed magnificence, refused to keep more than four silver vases and the patent of citizenship for himself, and distributed the remainder of the presents, including a sum of 10,000 golden ducats, among his soldiers and companions in arms, among whom were some of the most distinguished of the Spanish nobility, including Diego de Mendoza, son of the Cardinal of Spain; Villalba, Diego Garcia de Paredes, Zamudio and Pizarro, the father of the conqueror of Peru.

Up to this time the unfortunate Frederic had imagined that this formidable Spanish contingent, under his old friend Gonsalvo de Cordova, was destined, as before, to assist him against the French. Great then was his surprise when Alexander VI.[1] notified, in full consistory, his ratification of the Treaty of Granada, which had up to that time been kept a profound secret, and called upon Frederic to renounce his kingdom in favour of the sovereigns of France and of Spain. The war, having been thus declared, Gonsalvo, who had chivalrously surrendered to the King of Naples the Duchy of Santangelo, with which he had been invested for his former services, passed over from Syracuse to Reggio, and was soon as actively engaged in taking Calabria from the Neapolitans for the French, as he had been three years before engaged in taking Calabria from the French for the Neapolitans. Meanwhile the French troops, under d'Aubigny, overran the northern part of the Neapolitan territory. Capua was taken by assault, while the garrison was deluded by a treacherous truce. The city was given up to pillage, and more than 7000 of its defenders put to the sword by the troops of d'Aubigny and

[1] The Pope was particularly hostile to Frederic of Naples, inasmuch as that king had had the effrontery to refuse his daughter in marriage to Cæsar Borgia, who was not only a bastard and a Borgia, and, if possible, a greater scoundrel than his father, but who was actually a cardinal! The other Italian States, some from jealousy of Naples, some from fear of Rome, were equally unwilling to assist Frederic, who had been reduced, it was said, to seek assistance at the hand of Bajazet.

Cæsar Borgia. Frederic, completely demoralised by the treachery of the Spanish monarch and the defection of his old friend and ally Gonsalvo de Cordova, gave up Gaeta and Naples to the invaders, and retired to the island of Ischia. Louis XII., touched by his misfortunes, granted to him the Duchy of Anjou and an allowance of 30,000 ducats a year, and give him a safe conduct to France, where he passed the remainder of his life in a sort of honourable confinement, and died of a broken heart in the month of September, 1504.

While these events were taking place in the north of Naples, Gonsalvo had overrun Calabria, with which he was already so familiar, and had reduced every town to subjection, with the exception of Taranto, a place famous in history for its heroic defence against Hannibal, and now garrisoned by a strong body of troops under the Duke of Calabria, the eldest son of the unhappy Frederic. The place was one of great natural strength, both on the side of the land and of the sea, and was further fortified by extensive works, which were capable of resisting all the attacks of the artillery of the day. But a weapon, more ancient and more powerful than the heaviest battering-ram, was brought into action. The *Great Captain* was one of the most honourable and most chivalrous gentlemen in Europe. But he was the servant of Ferdinand the Catholic; and he did not shrink from tarnishing his fair fame in the eyes of posterity by treachery in the service of his sovereign. Taranto, it was plain, could not be taken by the force at his disposal. The city must be recovered by fraud. Gonsalvo accordingly entered into a truce with the young Duke of Calabria, by which, if the city were given up to the Spaniards at the expiration of a certain time, the Italian prince was to be at liberty to join his father, or to retire unmolested, with all his followers, whithersoever he should please. The conditions were ratified by the oath of Gonsalvo de Cordova, solemnly sworn upon the consecrated wafer in the presence of the whole camp, on the 1st of March, 1502. Taranto was given up; and the Duke of Calabria was immediately placed on board a Spanish man-of-war, and sent as a prisoner to Valencia.

It is sufficiently remarkable that more than one contemporary writer, including Paolo Giovio, the very reverend bishop of Nocera, entirely exonerates Gonsalvo from blame in this matter, alleging that he himself did not possess sufficient authority to grant his liberty to so important a personage as

the Duke of Calabria, and that Ferdinand, for whom Gonsalvo merely acted as an unauthorised agent, had a perfect right to annul the convention. It may perhaps seem harsh to censure a soldier for conduct which is thus formally approved by the highest ecclesiastical authorities of the time, or to condemn a subject for obeying the order of his sovereign; but the deceit practised upon Frederic of Naples, and the shameful breach of faith to his son the Duke of Calabria, are dark stains on the fair fame and otherwise unsullied honour of Gonsalvo, which degrade his character, so far as they go, to that of the Borgias and the Sforzas by whom he was surrounded, or to that of the treacherous and shameless master whom he served.

In the meantime, and while France and Spain were still fast friends, the Archduke Philip and his wife, Joanna of Spain, paid a visit (November, 1501) to Louis XII. at Blois, on their way from Brussels to Toledo. After a succession of splendid festivities that were given in their honour at the French court, they continued their journey, and entered Spain by way of Fontarabia, on the 29th of January, 1502. Ferdinand and Isabella were at that time at Seville, but they hastened to receive their distinguished visitors; and the meeting took place at Toledo, where on the 22nd of May, the archduke and Joanna received the usual oaths of fealty from the Cortes as the heirs to the crown of Castile. Some months later, on the 27th of October, 1502, Joanna and Philip, after taking the usual oaths before the Justiciary, were solemnly recognised by the four *arms* of the kingdom of Aragon, as the lawful successors to the crown of Ferdinand, on his death without male issue. His rights having been thus fully recognised, Philip, who despised his wife, and hated his father-in-law, and who was never at his ease in Spain, prepared to return with the least possible delay to Flanders.

From Saragossa to Brussels the easiest way lay through France. But in the course of the archduke's visit to his future dominions, the friendly relations between Louis XII. and Ferdinand the Catholic had been completely changed by the progress of events in Italy. No sooner had the whole of the Neapolitan territory passed, by the treacherous occupation of Taranto, into the hands of the allied robbers, than, as is usual in such cases, disputes had arisen with regard to the division of the spoil. The partition treaty had been somewhat loosely worded; and a considerable portion of the Neapolitan dominions, including the territories known as the Capitanate, the Basilicate,

and the Principality, became a debateable ground between the parties. A conference between d'Aubigny and Gonsalvo in person on the 1st of April, 1502, led to no results, inasmuch as both commanders had received secret instructions from their sovereigns to give up nothing, to take advantage of every opportunity to acquire fresh territory, and to conclude any treaty which might seem at the moment most advantageous, and which might afterwards be disclaimed, or ratified, by the respective sovereigns, as it might turn out to the advantage of either monarch.

The Pope and his son Cæsar Borgia espoused the cause of the French, and the remaining states of Italy, moved by fear or policy, took the same side. The French army, commanded by the young Duc de Nemours, consisted of about 8000 men, and numbered among its generals the veteran d'Aubigny, the Sire de Palice, and the heroic Bayard, the *Chevalier sans peur et sans reproche.* To these forces must be added the Neapolitan levies, commanded by the Angevin lords, and the troops which followed the standard of Cæsar Borgia. Gonsalvo's army consisted of less than 5000 men, ill paid, without supplies, and destitute even of proper clothing and equipments. Unable, therefore, to cope with the numerous forces of the enemy in the field, he retired to the fortified city of Barletta, after posting small garrisons in Bari, Andria and Canossa, and awaited the course of events

That the Archduke Philip and his Spanish wife should, under such circumstances, undertake a journey through France, appeared to both Ferdinand and Isabella in the highest degree rash and impolitic. But Philip was tired of Spain. He cared nothing for the remonstrances of the Catholic kings, nor for the entreaties of their daughter, his wife; and Ferdinand, seeing that the journey could not be prevented, set to work, like a prudent man, to turn it to the best possible account. The archduke was accordingly entrusted with a secret mission to Louis XII. to negotiate a treaty of peace, which should be advantageous to Spain; and an ecclesiastical colleague or spy was sent after him, as soon as he had fairly started. In due time this strangely-constituted mission came up with Louis, who was then holding his court at Lyons; and Philip was admitted to audience.

The French king was flattered by the confidence displayed by the archduke. The archduke was flattered by the reception accorded to him by the king. The abbot watched the case, as

it were, on behalf of the absent Ferdinand. At length a treaty was signed at Lyons, on the 5th of April, 1503, between Louis XII. and the archduke on behalf of Ferdinand of Aragon, by which the respective rights of the French and Spanish sovereigns in Naples were settled and declared, and a marriage was arranged between Philip's eldest son Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V., and a daughter of the King of France. The whole of the kingdom of Naples was settled upon the issue of this marriage, and until its consummation, the Neapolitan territory was to be occupied partly by the French and partly by the Spanish forces, within certain lines of demarcation, which were accurately laid down in the treaty. Louis at once sent orders to his generals in Italy to suspend all further warlike operations, and a similar order was conveyed to Gonsalvo de Cordova by the Archduke Philip.

Isabella took little interest in the Italian wars,[1] more especially after the death of Charles VIII., when the attitude of Spain had become rather predatory than defensive; and after the year 1500, the queen had become somewhat broken in health, and had turned her attention more to the affairs of Flanders and of England, than to those of Italy or even of France. From June, 1502, to April, 1503, the Spanish forces under Gonsalvo de Cordova remained shut up in Barletta. The French, with a vastly superior force, could neither drive him out nor tempt him out of his position. Ferdinand left him, as usual, without money, without reinforcements, without supplies.[2] Isabella was too ill to attend to the business of the war. Ferdinand had no heart and no head for any business but that of intrigue; and the united French and Italian armies, under the Duc de Nemours and Stuart d'Aubigny, had been permitted to overrun the entire kingdom of Naples. But Gonsalvo stood firm. He amused himself and his enemies, and encouraged his subordinate officers, by permitting them to

[1] It may be remarked that the traditional, and even necessary, policy of Aragon tended eastward; whilst the views of Castile were directed towards the west and south. As we have seen, the Aragonese kings had for centuries intervened in Italy, and had claims upon the sovereignty of the east, for which Sicily and Naples were regarded as a half-way house. These pretensions, and the possession of Trans-Pyrenean dominions in France, had brought them into continued rivalry with the latter power. Castile on the other hand had no question with France, her ambitions being in an entirely different direction. Hence the indifference of Isabella to the foreign policy of Ferdinand.—H.

[2] The letters of Peter Martyr at this time are full of entreaties addressed to the Spanish sovereigns, that they should pay some attention to the wants of their troops in Italy. Their pay was so greatly in arrear that it needed all the personal influence of Gonsalvo to maintain them in their allegiance.

display their personal valour in single combats under the walls of the city, after the fashion of the Moors of Granada. Eleven knights on one occasion defied as many of their French adversaries to mortal combat; and Bayard was among those who accepted the challenge. The honours of the encounter were pronounced to be equally divided, but a second challenge of Bayard led to the complete discomfiture of his Spanish antagonist. There was no lack of skill or of valour on either side.

At length Gonsalvo judged that the time had come to take the offensive; and sallying out of Barletta on the morning of the 20th of April, 1503, he boldly marched northwards and westwards towards Naples. His road lay across the fateful field of Cannae. He had scarce quitted the fortress that he had kept so well, when a courier arrived from the Archduke Philip with the news of the Treaty of Lyons. But Gonsalvo was not to be balked of the victory that he knew to be within his grasp. He recognised no authority but that of his own sovereign; and he judged it to be at once good policy and good generalship to press forward with all speed towards Naples. Every horseman was ordered to take up a foot soldier on his crupper; and before the enemy was well aware of his march, he had occupied a position some five-and-twenty miles to the west of Barletta, between the old battlefield of Cannae and the modern town of Cerignola. At the foot of the declivity on which the army was drawn up, ran a small stream or ditch, and Gonsalvo devoted the short time which remained to him before the arrival of the French army, to widening and deepening this natural defence, and to constructing a slight earthwork of the soil that was thrown up, which he further strengthened by driving in sharp-pointed stakes, so as to form a rough stockade. On this rampart he mounted his little train of artillery, which consisted of only thirteen field pieces, and awaited the advance of the enemy.

The *Great Captain* never failed to make the most of any accidental advantage, whether in war or in diplomacy; and he well knew that on so comparatively trifling a detail as the width of a ditch might depend the fate of a battle. The narrow stream which flowed at the foot of his position gained the day at Cerignola. The French troops hurrying up from Naples found the Spaniards already drawn up to receive them. The sun was sinking in the west. But there was yet time to fight a battle; and the gallant army of Nemours dashed forward against the Spanish position. The French cavalry was the finest in Italy, if not in Europe, and they amounted to a third of his entire force.

Nothing, it was said, could withstand the force of their onslaught. But they charged that day in vain. The Spanish infantry stood firm and struck hard. In a single hour of a summer's evening, the French lost nearly four thousand men, including their commander, the Duc de Nemours, and the whole of their artillery, and baggage, and colours. The Spanish loss did not exceed a hundred soldiers. Such was the battle of Cerignola, the first meeting of the French and Spanish allies after the signature of the Treaty of Lyons.[1]

Gonsalvo was not the man to fail to take the fullest advantage of his success, and the victory at Cerignola was immediately followed by the occupation of well-nigh the whole of that Neapolitan kingdom which had been so carefully divided by the negotiators at Lyons between the French and Spanish allies just fifteen days before.

If the victory itself was a triumph for Gonsalva de Cordova, the results of victory were still greater for Ferdinand. Marching across Italy, received everywhere with joyful acclamations, the Great Captain reached Naples without firing a shot, and entered the city at the head of his army on the 14th of May, 1503. He was received with almost royal pomp and magnificence. The streets were strewn with flowers, and a canopy of gold brocade was borne by six of the principal nobles of the city over the head of the victorious general. The Castel Nuovo and the Castel d'Uovo were taken by storm. Gaeta was the only fortress remaining in the hands of the French.

At the time of the signature of the Treaty of Lyons in April, 1503, the fortunes of Ferdinand in Italy seemed to be at their lowest ebb, and the partition of Naples was the utmost advantage that he could hope for. On receiving the news of the victory of Cerignola, nothing less than the entire kingdom would satisfy his cupidity; and the war broke out with renewed bitterness between the allies early in July, 1503. Louis sent an army of 30,000 men under La Tremouille into Italy, and prepared to invade Spain. Gonsalvo, after some fruitless negotiations with Cæsar Borgia, proceeded alone to besiege Gaeta. But no artillery could make any impression upon that formidable fortress, and the Spaniards took up their position on the banks of the Gariglano, some sixteen miles to the south of the city. Here

[1] D'Aubigny had been beaten by the Spanish General Andrada, near the well-known field of Seminara, just a week before the 20th of April. But the good news was, it seems, unknown to Gonsalvo until the day after the greater victory of Cerignola.

in the month of October, 1503, a battle was fought between the rival forces. But the French, though defeated, were not dispersed. Gaeta remained untaken.

On the Spanish frontier the enemy had already assumed the offensive. Louis XII., indignant at the successful treachery of which he had been the victim, was straining every nerve to avenge himself on Ferdinand. A French contingent under Jean d'Albret marched on Fontarabia. A more powerful army under Marshal des Rieux entered Roussillon. A French fleet was despatched from Marseilles with orders to destroy Barcelona. But Ferdinand was not unequal to the occasion. He prevailed upon Jean d'Albret to detain his forces to the north of the Pyrenees. Provided, as usual, by the exertions of Isabella, with a well-equipped army in Spain, he drove Marshal des Rieux out of Roussillon, and made his triumphant entry into Perpignan. The brave fleet that had sailed from Marseilles was destroyed by a tempest ere ever it had reached the coasts of Spain.

But the Spanish interests in Italy had, in the meanwhile been grievously neglected by the Catholic sovereigns. Alexander VI. had been succeeded on the 31st of October (1503) by Julius II.[1] The French were making good their position in camp and at court. The condition of Gonsalvo's little army, left as usual by Ferdinand without reinforcements, without pay, without supplies, became daily more critical. As the winter approached and the river overflowed its bank, a Council of War entreated the commander to retire into winter quarters at Capua. Gonsalvo, on the contrary, having made a most skilful distribution of his small force, advanced upon Gaeta, 28th December, 1504; and on the next day was fought the the third and last of his great battles in Italy, a battle hotly contested and fairly won, a battle fought almost under the walls of Gaeta, but known to fame as the rout of the Gariglano, when the French lost over 4000 men, with all their standards and baggage, tents, provisions, stores and the whole of their splendid train of artillery. More decisive, though not more splendid, than the victory of Cerignola, it was immediately followed by the surrender of Gaeta, and the complete expulsion of the French from the Neapolitan dominions. Gaeta, indeed, might have stood a long siege; but its defenders were demoralised, and the day after the arrival of the Spaniards at

[1] Pius III. had reigned, for three weeks, between them.

Castellone, Gonsalvo, who was already making preparations to cannonade the city, received the welcome intelligence that the commander had sent a flag of truce. The capitulation was signed on the following day. Gaeta, with all its cannon, ammunition and materials of war, together with its great magazine of stores and supplies, became the spoil of the victorious Spaniards.

On New Year's Day, 1504, the *Great Captain* marched into the fortress, and a few weeks later he made his third triumphal entry into Naples, more in the guise of a sovereign prince and a national idol than as the general of a foreign king. But Gonsalvo, whatever may have been his temptations, was always loyal to Isabella and to Ferdinand. His first act on re-entering the capital was to call together the different Orders of the State to swear allegiance to Ferdinand the Catholic as King of Aragon and Naples. His next step was to attempt to reorganise the government, to correct abuses of various kinds, and to provide for the regular collection of the revenue, and the due administration of justice. He made grants to his allies and generals, both Spanish and Italian. He restored to the Colonnas the estates of which they had been despoiled by the French; to Alviano he gave the town of San Marco, to Mendoza the county of Melito, to Navarro that of Oliveto, and to Paredes that of Coloneta; while Andrada, Leyva and many others received similar tokens of his gratitude and princely liberality. It is said that many years afterwards, when the meanness and ingratitude of Ferdinand were breaking the heart of the old hero, Gonsalvo felt regret at not having on this occasion assumed for himself, instead of his master, the expectant crown of Naples.

A bolder and less prudent man than Ferdinand would not have contented himself with this great success. Masters of Naples, with a victorious army commanded by the Great Captain, it was expected on all sides that the Spaniards would not rest satisfied until they had driven the French not only out of Naples, but out of Milan, and possibly not until they had added the whole of Italy to the dominions of Spain. The French were dispirited. The Italians were demoralised. Gonsalvo de Cordova might have marched to Milan as easily as Charles VIII. had marched to Naples, and he would have found no great captain to break up his army when he reached the goal. The road lay open; and both French and Italians were in daily expectation of the news that the Spaniards had set out on the march northwards. But Ferdinand was jealous of the success and popularity of Gonsalvo

de Cordova; and it was, moreover, with him a rule of policy to use his victories rather as a means of obtaining favourable treaties of peace than as opportunities for prolonging a campaign. The results of war are ever doubtful. The results of treaties were, with Ferdinand the Catholic, pretty much what he chose to make them.[1] Spreading rumours, therefore, of his intended invasion of northern Italy, Ferdinand imposed his own terms upon the French king; and on the 11th of February a treaty was signed at Lyons by which Louis abandoned all his claims to Naples; and the kingdom of the two Sicilies became once more an appanage of Aragon. Gonsalvo de Cordova, the hero of the war, remained on the scene of his triumphs.[2]

[1] *Calendar*, etc., i., p. 41.

[2] The principal authorities for the events recorded in the preceding chapter, in addition to the *Calendars* (Spain) and the *Documentos Ineditos*, are the following:—

Paolo Giouio, Vescovo di Nocera, *Vita di Consalvo Ferrando di Cordova detto il Gran Capitano* (Fiorenza, 1552).

Coronica llamada las dos conquistas del Regno de Napollos (Zaragoza, 1559). Black letter. This was reprinted at Seville in 1580, and at Alcalá de Henares in 1584, under the title of *Cronica del Gran Capitan Gonçalo Hernandez de Cordova y Aguilar*, by Perez del Pulgar.

Guicciardini, *L'Historia d'Italia* (Firenze, 1561).

Antonio de Herrera, *Comentarios de los hechos de los Españoles, Franceses, y Venecianos en Italia* (Madrid, 1624).

CHAPTER LI.

THE REVIVAL OF LETTERS IN SPAIN.

(1480—1510.)

The literary history of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella is short and easily written.[1] Before the year 1492, Spain was too busy with the Moslem to have any time for polite letters. After the year 1492, the Inquisition was too busy with Spain. The single work of the period which still survives, a monument of learning, of industry and of scholarship, rather than of letters in the ordinary acceptation of the word, is the great Polyglot edition of the Bible that was prepared by Cardinal Ximenez, and which will be spoken of in connection with the other glories of his university at Alcalá.

The only purely literary work of interest or importance that was written or published during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella is the celebrated tragi-comedy of Calisto and Melibœa, known as *La Celestina*.[2] It is a dramatic story rather than a true drama, divided into twenty-one parts or acts, without divisions into scenes, or formal indications of entrances or exits; and although there is far more action than in many regular dramas, it was assuredly never intended for representation on the stage.

[1] The following catalogue of the works published under the protection of the Catholic kings, or either of them, whether dedicated to them or not, is neither very long nor very important, considering the period of over forty years of Renaissance which is covered by their reigns. See also *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., vol. xviii., p. 422 :—

Fernan Arias Mexia—*El Nobiliario Vero.*
Diego de Valera—*Cronica general abreviada.*
Fr. Ambrosio Montesinos—*Vida de Cristo* (translation).
Bishop Pedro Ximenez de Prexamo—*El Lucero de la Vida Cristiana.*
Antonio de Nebrija—1. *Arte de Gramatica.* 2. *Cronica latina* (translation).
Doctor Montalvo—*An Edition of the Partidas and Ordenanzas Reales.*
Peter Martyr—*Letters* and *Decades.*

[2] The anonymous couplets of Mingo Revulgo, a satire in dialogue form on the corruption of society in the time of Henry IV., were probably written in 1472.

Such as it is, the *Celestina* is one of the earliest dramas in the Spanish or in any of the other modern languages of Europe; nigh upon a century before Gammer Gurton's Needle (1575), and two generations older than *Ferrex and Porrex* (1561).

The greatest blemish that may be found in the book is its licentiousness both of speech and of spirit; a fault that can rarely be found with the works of Castilian writers from the earliest times to the present day. The authorship of the *Celestina* is uncertain. One Roderigo Cota of Toledo is said to have written the first and the longest of the acts or parts. Fernando de Rojas of Salamanca is undoubtedly responsible for the rest; and he is even supposed by some critics to have himself composed the whole. The date of the composition or of the publication are alike uncertain; but the *Celestina,* whenever published, was inspired by Henry IV., and not by either Isabella or Ferdinand.

From the appearance of this celebrated work, probably about the year 1480, before the active reign of the Catholic sovereigns had fairly commenced, to the time of Garcilaso de la Vega, ten or a dozen years after Charles V. had brought his rapacious Flemings to Madrid, no single work of imagination, whether in prose or in poetry, with the exception of what are called the Moorish Ballads of Granada, was written or published by a Spanish author in Spain.[1] The most characteristic work of the age and of the country, indeed, the one book of renown that was widely read and promptly printed in Spain before the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, was no original composition, but a translation by a Spanish writer of a Portuguese romance, famous in all literature, not so much for its own merits or popularity, or even for the enormous influence that it exercised upon Spanish literature and Spanish sentiment for nearly a century, as for the incomparable satire that has condemned it, with all its monstrous progeny, to universal and imperishable ridicule.

Until the beginning of the twelfth century, the people of

[1] The poetry of Boscan, very inferior to that of Garcilaso de la Vega, was, perhaps, a few years earlier in date. Olivas' vigorous Castilian was not written until many years later. He only returned from Rome to Salamanca in 1528, having spent a great part of his life in Italy. Naharro, who is sometimes cited as one of the earliest dramatic authors of Spain, was indeed born at Badajoz, but he spent the greater part of his life in Italy, and his *Propaladia* was written at the court of Leo X. (1517). For a national drama, says Ticknor, i., cap. xv., we must look to the next period; since as late as the end of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella there is no trace of such a theatre in Spain. (It would be unjust to omit mention of two historians of mark who illustrated the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella. Andrés Bernaldez, who wrote *Historia de los Reyes Catolicos,* and Hernando de Pulgar the elder, whose *Claros Varones de Castilla* is famous.—H.)

Spain were contented not only with their own national ballads but with their own national heroes. Of Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, and of all the courtly heroes of the general literature of mediæval Europe, they knew and cared to know nothing. Of Charlemagne and his peers, the glory and delight of Western Christendom, they knew only that they had been defeated on the Spanish frontiers after a somewhat inglorious campaign. In these matters, as in most others, the country was complete in itself. Pelayo and Fernan Gonzalez, the Cid and Bernardo del Carpio, Saint James on his milk white charger, with his sword "red with the blood of the infidel"—were not these heroes sufficient for a nation's romance, without bringing fanciful foreigners into Spain? But under the Catholic kings, these national heroes were somewhat discredited. Saint James was all very well, but Torquemada was more immediately admirable. Pelayo and Bernardo, moreover, were rude personages, while Fernan Gonzalez and the Cid were rank rebels, the mere record of whose turbulent independence must have provoked the wrath of Isabella.

After the conquest of Granada, the Spanish sovereigns themselves acquired a halo of national glory and renown, although their greatest achievement was not so much that of subduing the Moslem, in which they hardly surpassed Saint Ferdinand or King James the Conqueror, but that of subduing the unconquered people of Aragon and of Castile. Peter the Cruel had made the attempt, and he had failed miserably; and his name had ever been execrated in Spain. But it was not agreeable to Isabella that any sovereign of Castile should be lightly or rudely spoken of, and it was decreed that Peter was no longer to be known as the Cruel but as the Just.

The romances of chivalry, so well known to every reader of *Don Quixote*, and during the whole of the sixteenth century the most popular and highly-appreciated books in Spain, were unknown in Castile until the end of the fifteenth century, when their sudden rise into favour and popularity may be ascribed to a curious combination of causes.[1] The marvellous and fantastic

[1] It is true that they were not popular or generally read, but Lopez de Ayala in the fourteenth century mentions Amadis in the *Rimado de Palacio* (stanza 162) as does Pero Ferrús another poet of the time. Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly, a great authority, believes that knight-errantry already had fastened its hold upon Spain in the middle of the fifteenth century, and that probably an early Spanish version of Amadis, which has been lost, existed long before the first known edition in 1508. Mr. Fitzmaurice Kelly cogently points out that early in the fifteenth century such books as Rodriguez de Lena's *Paso Honroso*, *The Cronica of Pero Niño*, and others, were to a large extent books of chivalry under the guise of personal adventures.—H.

adventures of Amadis and of Palmerin, the loyalty of the knights, the beauty of their mistresses, the wickedness of the magicians and enchanters—these things might be read and repeated without danger to Church or State; and the greedy imaginations of the men whose fathers had driven out the Moors, and whose brothers were pillaging the Indians, were satisfied with nothing less than the extravagance of the new romances of chivalry. *Amadis de Gaul*, the first parent of the monstrous brood, was not even the work of a Spaniard, but of a Portuguese of the name of Lobeyra, and may possibly have been written as early as the year 1400.[1] But it was not translated into Spanish nor apparently known in Spain until 1492, at the very earliest. Nor have we any assurance that it was printed until 1519.[2]

If the ancient ballads of Spain belonged to the entire nation, the romances of chivalry sprang in later times from the class whose knightly imagination they excited and whose aristocratic vanity they gratified. They are the joint product of the wars of Granada and the Inquisition in Spain. Terrific combats and impossible achievements suggested or were suggested by legends of Christian prowess against the Moor. Tales of giants and goblins, enchanted swords, and supernatural machinery, far from containing anything distasteful to the most rigid orthodoxy, were not without a certain family resemblance to many of the lives of the saints, and were in any case calculated to stimulate the imagination in a direction entirely unobjectionable to the Holy Office. *Amadis de Gaul*, with all its indecencies and its extravagances,

[1] The attribution to Lobeyra is at least very doubtful. There has arisen much confusion between two men of that name, to both of whom the authorship has been credited. One of them, Vasco de Lobeyra, who died in 1403, could not have been the original author, as he was not born at a time when the book was known in Castile; the other Joãs de Lobeyra, who died about 1325, was possibly the original writer; although this is rendered difficult by a remark of the Portuguese historian Gomez Eannes de Azurara in 1450, to the effect that Lobeyra imagined the romance "in the reign of King Fernan (*i.e.*, 1367-1383). The explanation suggested by a competent critic is that Amadis was originally written—the first three books—either in Castilian or Limousi; and that Vasco de Lobeyra translated it at the end of the fourteenth century into Portuguese, which Garci-Rodriguez de Montalvo retranslated into Castilian in 1490-1494, adding the fourth book himself. It is suggested that Montalvo may have had before him both Lobeyra's version and the now lost ancient Castilian codex.—H.

[2] *Cf.* Ticknor, cap. xi. (This is an error. I have seen a beautiful edition printed at Zaragoza in 1508.—H.) A full and complete list of all the romances of chivalry of the sixteenth century, and the list is a very long and a very curious one, will be found in Duffield's edition of *Don Quixote*, vol. i., Introduction. The Cid's own mother, it may be remembered, was dishonoured by the ballad-makers, that their hero might be in the fashion. See *ante*, vol. i., chap. xviii., and Appendix on BARRAGANERIA.

might be safely, and indeed advantageously, placed in the hands of the most devout Catholic, as a gaudy toy is given to a mischievous child, to divert his dangerous attention from articles of solid worth. And thus launched upon a new united Spain, full of national life and prosperity, proud, ignorant, eager, chivalrous, successful, superstitious, *Amadis de Gaul* was succeeded by *Palmerin of England*, and *Palmerin of England* by that endless series of romances, each one more extravagant than its predecessor, whose names are preserved only in the notes to learned editions of *Don Quixote*.

Amadis was the love child of Eliseña an English princess—a Spanish hero must, if possible, be illegitimate—who having been abandoned on the sea coast, finds his way to Scotland, where he falls in love with the beautiful Oriana, the daughter of the King of England. Meanwhile, Eliseña has married Perion, King of Gaul or Wales, and has given birth to a lawful son, Galaor, who in company with his half-brother, Amadis, travels through England, France, Germany and the Levant. These knights-errant are the victims of a hundred enchantments, the heroes of a thousand adventures, until at length their wanderings are brought to a conclusion by the marriage of Amadis and Oriana. *Amadis de Gaul* is generally admitted to be on the whole the best of all the romances of chivalry. Its immediate successors, *Palmerin de Oliva* and *Palmerin de Inglaterra* rank next in relative excellence; and every successive composition exceeded its predecessor in extravagance and absurdity, until at length the entire library was consumed by the fire of ridicule.

But if literature did not flourish under the Inquisition, scholarship was encouraged and protected by Isabella; and the courtly stamp was impressed upon learning in Spain. If the inquisitors burned both men and MSS., if Jewish and Moslem culture were alike despised, it must not be supposed that the reign of the Catholic kings was a reign of ignorance.[1] Yet a great change had taken place in the world of letters since the death of John II. of Castile.

Poetry and historical composition had been chiefly encouraged by the royal servant of Alvaro de Luna. Classical studies, invested with new interest by the great revival in Italy, were the favourite intellectual pursuit of the courtiers of Ferdinand and Isabella. The laudable and politic desire of the queen, moreover, after the conclusion of the wars of Granada, that

[1] *Cf.* Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos*, vol. ii., p. 700.

her nobles should devote themselves to learning and polite letters, rather than to the exclusive pursuit of arms, fell in with the great current of European thought towards the end of the fifteenth century.

The Catholic kings, moreover, though they were uniformly successful in every warlike operation that they undertook, were quite indifferent to glory for its own sake; and if Isabella possessed to an extraordinary degree the power of organising victory, the moving spirit in the foreign policy of Spain was her less gifted consort. For Ferdinand was no soldier, but a keen and consummate diplomatist, a king who set more store upon brains than upon gunpowder, and an opponent ever more dangerous with the pen than with the sword.[1]

Impelled, therefore, by her own good judgment and that of Cardinal Mendoza, and further encouraged by her magnificent confessor Ximenez, Isabella[2] made herself the patroness of letters and of science in Castile; and the connection between the universities and the court became more intimate and more fruitful than it had been under any preceding sovereign. Salamanca was reformed and re-endowed by Ferdinand. Alcalá was established on a scale of unheard of magnificence by Ximenez.

In scholarship, at least, there was no jealousy of the foreigner, and from every part of Europe men distinguished in their several departments of learning and letters were summoned by Isabella to the court and to the universities of Spain. From Sicily came Lucio Marineo, in the first instance as a professor at Salamanca;

[1] The moving spirit in the foreign policy of Spain at this and indeed at all times, was Ferdinand, who was no soldier, but who shone among statesman as a man absolutely without any moral sense or feeling of shame, the most consummate diplomatist of his day; and Ferdinand not only refrained at all times from war until it was absolutely necessary to the success of his designs, but he was ever ready to make peace on terms, not even the most favourable that could be extracted from a vanquished foe, but the most favourable that were likely to be observed by him. There is a curious document, preserved at Simancas (see *Calendar*, etc., i., Introduction, p. 41; *Simancas*, E. T. I., No. 806, f. 25), which gives an insight into Ferdinand's prudent if somewhat crafty policy in this respect. He always made peace with France on easy terms, when he had been prosperous in the field, but he made use of the peace which he had negotiated only to prepare himself anew for war. Thus, says the writer, he obtained two-fold advantages; first, as countries may be conquered by arms, but cannot be held by force, he gained time to consolidate his new acquisitions; and, secondly, by this moderate and so to speak progressive aggrandisement, while he might in the end gain the whole, he never exposed himself to the danger of a great loss.

[2] She had inherited not only some of her father's books, but some of his taste for them. For a catalogue of her libraries, see Clemencin in *Mem. de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, tom. vi.

and afterwards as a kind of court scholar or royal tutor, under the immediate protection of the queen. From Tuscany, Antonio and Alexandro Geraldino were equally welcomed in Castile. From Arona, on the Lago Maggiore, came the more celebrated Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, whose letters are one of the classics of contemporary history. Under his accomplished superintendence, moreover, the youthful members of the Castilian nobility were trained in polite letters at court or palatine schools, under the very eye of the sovereign, while the nobles of maturer years were encouraged not only to learn, but to teach in the great national universities of the kingdom.[1]

Don Gutierrez de Toledo, a son of the Duke of Alva, and a cousin of the king, became a professor in the University of Salamanca, where Don Pedro de Velasco, a son of the good Count of Haro, so famous as Grand Constable of Castile, read lectures on the Latin classics. Don Alfonso de Manrique, a son of the Count of Paredes, taught Greek in the University of Alcalá. "No Spaniard," says Paolo Giovio, "was accounted noble who was indifferent to learning." Nor was scholarship confined to the titled aristocracy. Antonio de Lebrija, an Andalusian of humble birth, and a graduate of the University of Salamanca, after a brilliant career at Bologna, returned to his native country in 1473, at the invitation of Isabella, and filled the chairs of classical Latinity at Seville, at Salamanca, and at Alcalá. Lebrija was a renowned lecturer. But he was something more; he was the author of numerous works on linguistic criticism, both as regards Latin and Castilian; and he was celebrated not only in Spain but throughout Europe as one of the lights and leaders of the great revival. Barbosa, a Portuguese by birth, was distinguished for nearly forty years as a professor of Greek at Salamanca. According to so high and so impartial an authority as Erasmus,[2] liberal studies were brought, in the course of a few years, to so flourishing a condition in Spain, as not only to excite the admiration of scholars, but to serve as a model to the most cultivated nations of Europe.

Nor were these studies by any means restricted to members of the sterner sex. Doña Beatriz de Galindo was chosen to give instruction in the Latin language to the queen herself,

[1] As to Peter Martyr's school for the nobility, and the peculiar care devoted to the education of the Prince of Asturias, with his little band of scholar companions, see *Memorias de la Real Acad. de Historia*, vol. vi., Illustracion, xiv., p. 383, where the names of the noble youths are also given.

[2] Peter Martyr, *Op. Epist.*, 977.

and was rewarded with the title of *La Latina*. The even more remarkable Doña Francisca de Lebrija, a daughter of the great humanist, gave lectures in rhetoric at the University of Alcalá; while Doña Lucia de Medrano instructed the students at Salamanca in classical Latinity. The men are not more liberal, and the ladies are scarcely more learned in the halls of modern Cambridge.

The first printing press in Spain appears to have been established at Valencia in 1474, and the first book printed in the Peninsula was a volume of songs or poems in honour of the Blessed Virgin mostly in the Limousin or Valencian dialect, and a few in Castilian, which was said to be "produced from *letras de molde*" or movable type, as distinguished from the *letra de mano* or *manuscript*. An ecclesiastical work in prose—the *Comprehensorium*, by an unknown Juan, bears the date 1475; and the printing of other books rapidly followed, not only at Valencia but elsewhere. A work on medicine by Velasco de Taranto was published at Barcelona in 1474 or 1475; a work on theology,[1] *Manipulus Curatorum*, at Saragossa in 1475; and within a year or two of the date of these earliest publications, printing presses were set up at Seville, Lerida, Zamora, Burgos, Toledo, Murcia, Tolosa, Alcalá, Montserrat, Tarragona, and other towns throughout Aragon and Castile.

The first book printed at Salamanca was very appropriately the *Introductiones Latinæ* of Lebrija, or as he is often called Nebrixas, in folio, 1481; and whatsoever may have been the restraints imposed by the Inquisition, it would seem that the number and importance of the works of various kinds that issued from the Spanish printing presses were for some time not inferior to those of any other country in Europe.[2]

[1] Mendez, *Tipografia Española*, p. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30; Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, tom. ii., *Préambulo.*

CHAPTER LII.

ALCALÁ.

(1293—1508.)

I.—*The University.*

The development of the Spanish universities in the time of the Catholic sovereigns was due not so much to the patronage of Isabella, nor even to the zeal of Ximenez, as to the spirit of progress and new birth that was animating the whole of western Europe.

The universities both in Castile and in Aragon had, down to the close of the fifteenth century, been exclusively royal foundations. No private individual save Raymond Lull, a doubtful saint at Majorca, had founded a college; no sovereign Pontiff save Benedict XIII., a doubtful Pope at Avignon, had endowed a university. The more legitimate Popes indeed had been ready with their Bulls and their charters, when the colleges were established, and provided with funds; but it is rather to the kings of Castile and of Aragon, than to any ecclesiastical benefactor, that Spain owes her great educational foundations from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. It must never be forgotten, moreover, that the Spanish kings, condemned as they were, by their position, to a life of constant warfare, were not only ever ready to patronise learning and letters, but that they have themselves furnished many illustrious names to the list of the royal authors of the world. We may look in vain through all the countries of mediæval Europe for such intelligent patrons of scholars and of scholarship as Saint Ferdinand and Alfonso X. of Castile; as James I., and Peter IV., and Ferdinand I. of Aragon, as Alfonso V. who reigned at Naples, or even John II. who reigned at Valladolid.[1]

[1] See vol. i., chap. xxvi. Among the benefits conferred by Ferdinand the Catholic upon his Neapolitan subjects on the occasion of his visit in 1507 was the

But Isabella the Catholic, like other heaven born rulers of men and of nations, possessed in the highest degree the noble faculty of exciting others to the performance of great and worthy actions; and the extension of the Spanish universities after her accession to the throne, is due rather to private enterprise than to direct royal effort. Avila, indeed, was founded by the king and queen in 1482; and Ferdinand, in the following year, invested the great school of Raymond Lull at Palma with the formal dignity of a university (1483); yet the University of Seville owes its foundation to Roderigo Santaella (1472-1509); and that of Santiago to Diego Muro, Bishop of the Canary Islands (1501-1509); while the more ancient foundation at Valencia was reformed and developed between 1483 and 1522 by numerous private patrons and donors, including the Duchess of Calabria and the Municipal Council of the city.

At Salamanca three new colleges, affiliated to the ancient foundation, were founded by private generosity between 1500 and 1521; and the accession of students was so great that the number is said to have amounted in a single year to something over 7000. The most ancient and the most famous of the colleges of the University of Salamanca was the College of St. Bartholomew, usually known as the *Colegio viejo*, founded in 1401; and said to be the first University *College* in Spain. A second college of the University of Salamanca, the *Colegio de Cuenca*, was founded in 1500. A third, which was known as that of *San Salvador de Oviedo*, followed in 1517; and a fourth, that of *Fonseca*, in 1521, all of them the foundations of private benefactors. But long before these colleges were added to the ancient establishment at Salamanca, the University of Sigüenza was founded, in the year 1476, on a magnificent scale by Juan Lopez de Almazan, a rich and enlightened connection of the great house of Medina Celi; and, greater even than Sigüenza, the noble University of Alcalá, the spoilt child of Ximenez de Cisneros.

Twenty miles to the north of Madrid, near the meeting of the waters of the Jarama and the Henares, the Arabs built a fort, *Al calah al Henares*—"the Castle on the River"—the modern Alcalá de Henares. Captured by Alfonso VI., and granted in perpetuity to the archbishops of Toledo, Alcalá

re-establishment of their ancient university. See Bernaldez, 210; and Giannone, *Istoria di Napoli*, xxx., cap. i., 15.

became the summer residence of the primates of Spain; and it was there that Gonsalvo Garcia Gudiel obtained from Sancho the Bravo his royal permission to found a *Maestrescuela* or university after the pattern of Valladolid, as early as the year 1293. But the times were disturbed, and the privilege was not acted upon until 1459, when the fighting Archbishop of Toledo, Alfonso Carrillo, obtained a Bull from Pius II. in virtue of which an *Estudio general* was opened in the convent of San Francisco. It was at this school that young Alfonso Ximenes de Cisneros received the first elements of instruction, and it was within a stone's throw of the ancient monastery that in 1499, after two years' consideration and consultation with the celebrated architect Pedro Gumiel, the first stone of the new university was laid by Archbishop Francisco Ximenez de Cisneros, Primate of all Spain.[1] Every day that could be snatched by the archbishop from his political duties was devoted to superintending the work of construction; and at length in October, 1508, the great institution was finally open for the reception of students.

The university at Alcalá differed in at least one important particular from any other earlier institution in the Peninsula; and may be compared in that respect rather with our own English universities of Oxford and Cambridge. For the university, like those of England, was composed of a number of colleges or houses, in which the students might reside during the whole of their scholastic career.

Of these the most important was that of San Ildefonso, whose fellows were entrusted with a large share of the general administration, and whose master or rector was also *ex officio* rector of the university. Next in importance, and destined more especially for the advancement of the study of the Greek and Latin classics, were the colleges most appropriately named after Saint Isidore and Saint Eugenius. The halls of *San Balbino* and *Santa Catalina* received students of philosophy. A sixth house dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul was in the nature of a normal school in connection with the Franciscan Order,

[1] According to the *Anuario historico estadistico de la Instruccion Publica en España*, sub-tit. "Alcalá," the first stone is said to have been laid in 1498. The preparations for the building were no doubt commenced in that year. Al Zegri, the devoted convert of Granada, took a leading part in the ceremony of consecration. The ceremonial opening appears not to have taken place until the Eve of St. Luke's Day, 1513, when "*las constituciones se publicáron con gran pompa en la capilla del colegio*".

and a seventh, *La Madre de Dios*, received a limited number of poor students of theology and medicine.[1]

An infirmary or university hospital, an institution hitherto unknown in Spain, if not in Europe, was added to the collegiate buildings, and inasmuch as the rooms constructed in the first instance for that purpose did not appear to Ximenez to be sufficiently lofty and well ventilated, he caused a second and a more appropriate hospital to be specially designed and prepared for the reception of sick students. In this respect, at least, was the great ecclesiastic in advance of his age and country.[2] An eighth college, dedicated to Saint Jerome, was reserved more particularly for students of Hebrew as well as for a limited number of aspirants to distinction in the study of Greek and Latin.

The fellows and professors at the new university were selected from among the most learned men at Salamanca and the other homes of learning in Spain, and many more were induced by munificent salaries to come from Paris, from Bologna, and from other universities in Europe to the new home of learning on the banks of Henares. The first rector of the university was Pedro Campo, of Salamanca, the first chancellor was Pierre Lerma, of Paris. The rector and the chancellor enjoyed a species of co-ordinate jurisdiction; the former superintended the examinations and granted degrees; the latter directed the studies, administered the property, and superintended the daily life and discipline of the university. A revenue of 14,000 ducats was assigned by Ximenez to this splendid establishment; and neither to the buildings nor to the endowment did queen or king contribute a single maravedi.

Students, as may be supposed, at once flocked to this *Complutensian*[3] university, where no less than 3000 are said to have been received in the first twelve months of its corporate existence;[4] and ere long the original buildings of Ximenez were surrounded by new, if less interesting houses, affiliated to the various monastic orders of Christendom.[5]

[1] Only six in medicine. This *Madre de Dios* had been originally intended for an infirmary, but was converted into a college on the building of a new and larger hospital.

[2] Baudier, *Vie de Ximenes*, 233.

[3] *I.e.*, *Confluencia*, the *confluence* of the rivers Jarama and Henares.

[4] It does not appear that Ferdinand even visited the university till 1514. It was not of course completed until long after Isabella's death.

[5] As to the jealousy existing between Salamanca and Alcalá, more especially as it was manifested with regard to the election of Lebrija to a vacant chair at the older university, see Muñoz, *Memorias*, p. 22.

The new and liberal provisions with regard to the salaries and old age pensions of the fellows and professors, the studies and discipline of the students, and many other matters of detail, are well worthy of consideration by those who would appreciate the character of Ximenez. Grand in his conceptions, minute in his execution, he stamped every detail of every work that he took in hand with the impress of his own originality. Among other academic novelties at Alcalá, we are told that he built three *casas de campo* or country houses for the use of his professors on holydays.

II.—*The Complutensian Polyglot.*

The crowning glory of the University of Alcalá, and one of the greatest achievements of its illustrious founder, is that magnificent edition of the Holy Scripture in four languages, which is usually known, from the place of its publication, as the *Complutensian Polyglot.*

The text of the copies of the Vulgate in ordinary use before the invention of printing, had become, as was only natural, exceedingly corrupt. The Bible, or a portion of the Bible, had been translated into Limousin under James I. of Aragon, and into Castilian by order of Alfonso X. of Castile; but the circulation and reproduction of these popular books were in course of time prohibited by the Church. The first printed edition of the Old Testament in the original Hebrew was published at Soncino near Milan in 1488. Of the New Testament, no edition had been printed in the original Greek when the *Editio princeps* was struck off at Alcalá in 1514.

It was probably during his residence at Toledo, in or about 1502, that Ximenez conceived the idea of an edition of the Holy Scriptures in many languages, which should be prepared from many MSS., to be collated by competent scholars, and printed with the utmost perfection; and the design was promptly put into execution. Three Spaniards, Antonio Lebrija,[1] Lopez de Zuñiga or Stunica, and Nuñez de Guzman were found worthy of a place among the scholars who were entrusted with the actual

[1] Gomez (*Life of Ximenes*) says that it was solely owing to Lebrija's advice that Ximenez undertook the great work; and this is confirmed in Lebrija's own *Apologia*, where he complains bitterly to his patron that he is in dire danger of the chains of the Inquisition for the work he has done on the Polyglot. His indignant appeal to Ximenez for protection is surprisingly told. See preface of *Apologia.*—H.

execution of the work, and with them were associated the Cretan Demetrius Ducas, and three converted Jews, Alfonso of Alcalá, Alfonso of Zamora, and Pablo or Paul of Segovia. Pedro Vergara, a student at Alcalá, was afterwards added to the company. From every part of Europe, and more especially from Rome, MSS. were procured in abundance.

By the early part of 1503, the work had been fairly commenced, and on the 10th of January, 1514, the impression of the volume containing the New Testament was actually completed. But Julius II. or his advisers had by this time become somewhat alarmed at the character of the work; and the authority for the publication was refused or withheld for over six years; nor was it until three years after the death of Ximenez that Leo X. by his Brief of 22nd March, 1520, at last accorded the necessary permission: and the volumes were at length given to the world. Thus only it came to pass that the Greek New Testament which at the date of the completion of the work at Alcalá in January, 1514, was actually the *Editio princeps*, was anticipated in publication by that of Erasmus, which appeared in 1516.

The *Complutensian Polyglot* is divided into six volumes, of which the *first four* contain the Old Testament in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, arranged in three distinct columns. In the case of the Pentateuch only, there is a Chaldee version, with a Latin translation below. The *sixth* volume is composed of a number of vocabularies and indices, lists of words and names, and a Hebrew grammar. The *fifth* volume, which was the first to be printed, contains the New Testament. The Greek type used in this volume (but not in the others) was the work of Arnoldo Brocario, and is singularly beautiful; very large, modelled after the fashion of thirteenth century MSS. but with no indicated breathings, and with a peculiar system of accents. The Latin of the Vulgate in parallel columns is a fine bold black letter. The apocryphal books are given only in two texts—the Vulgate and the Septuagint; the authorised Latin printed in a wide column between two columns of corresponding Septuagint, with a new Latin translation under each word of the Greek, as is found throughout the rest of the Old Testament.

The most laborious and ingenious part of the actual typographical arrangement, however, is that the Latin and Greek and Hebrew are printed parallel the one to the other actually line by line: and the spaces that naturally occur from the different length and number of the words in each language are filled up by florid scrolls in the printed Vulgate. Reference is

also made by letters above the text from every word in the Greek text to every word in the Vulgate: and in the Old Testament, from every word in the Vulgate to every word in the Hebrew; while under each Greek word of the Septuagint is printed the corresponding word of a new Latin translation. There is also a kind of concordance with references to parallel passages in the Old and New Testaments.

The question of the MSS. that were used in the preparation of the work is one of great difficulty. Ximenez certainly spent large sums of money in the purchase of codices, among others the *Codex Rhodiensis* ("Act 52" of critical catalogues) which is now lost; and Leo X.[1] is known to have lent some MSS. from the Vatican Library for the volumes containing the Old Testament.[2]

It was in 1784 that Dr. Moldenhawer, a Danish professor, visited Alcalá in order to examine and collect the MSS. But the librarian, not wishing, perhaps, to display his treasures to a stranger and a Protestant, declared that they had been sold to a maker of fireworks five-and-twenty years before;[3] and the

[1] As he only became Pope in 1513, he can hardly have lent anything for the preparation of the New Testament volume, which was completed in January, 1514. See José Gutierrez, *Catalogue of XXX. volumes of Biblical MSS. from the Library at Alcalá, now at Madrid*, 1846. The various MSS. lent by Leo were afterwards sent back to Rome. (In a letter from Ximenez to Leo X., prefixed to the Pentateuch in the first edition of the Polyglot, he says: "It was to your Holiness that we owed the Greek MSS.; for you very kindly sent us the most ancient MSS. of the Old and New Testament from the Apostolic Library". In the preface to the same edition Ximenez says: "For the Greek part of the Scripture we took no vulgar manuscript for our text, but the most ancient and most correct which Pope Leo X. sent me from the Vatican.—H.)

[2] The MSS. now remaining at Madrid are, with two unimportant exceptions, entirely Latin and Hebrew texts. Mr. Scrivener does not consider (*Plain Introduction*, etc., ed. 1883, p. 427) that either *Codex B.* or any MS. resembling it in character, or any other document of high antiquity or of first-rate importance, was employed by the editors of the Polyglot. All the MSS. described in the catalogue of 1745, comprising almost all the MSS. materials used in the preparation of the Polyglot, are now, of course, at Madrid; although in consequence of undue credence attached to a traveller's tale a hundred years ago, northern scholars were led to doubt the fact that any of the MSS. existed in Spain, if indeed they had ever had any real existence at all. Horne and Tregelles, *Introduction*, etc., 1856, p. 121. Madrid has inherited the library and to some extent the traditions of Alcalá. See *ante*, vol. i., ch. xxvi.

[3] See Sir John Bowring, *Religion and Literature in Spain* (1831); Michaelis, *Introduction*, etc., trans. by Bishop Marsh (1801), vol. ii., p. 440; Bishop Herbert Marsh, *History of Translations*, etc., *of the Scriptures* (1812); Bishop Westcott's *General Survey* (ed. 1881); *Monthly Repository* (1821), vol. xii., 203; and (1827), N.S. vol. i.; *Biblical Review*, March, 1847; Franz Delitzsch, *Complutensische Varianten zum alttestamentlichen Texte* (Leipzig, 1878); Johann Salomon Semler, *Vermuthungen über das Complutensische Neu Testament* (Halle, 1770), being a reply to Goetze, whose notes on the Complutensian version were published in the *Göttingischen Anzeigen*, 1766 and 1769.

legend was accepted and duly commented upon by superior persons for three generations.[1]

The text of the Polyglot differs little from that of most of the codices written after the end of the tenth century; and that it was corrupted from the parallel Latin version is a theory now completely abandoned. The fact is that from having been attacked by Erasmus almost immediately after its appearance, and depreciated by Biblical critics in Germany almost ever since, its many merits have been undeservedly disparaged, though now generally recognised by scholars;[2] and are attested by the fact that Erasmus, and after him Etienne or Stephen, used it largely in correcting their own editions. The chief weakness of the Complutensian version arises from the fact that the editors regarded the Latin of the Vulgate as a superior authority to either the original Greek or Hebrew—a display of orthodoxy at once characteristic and unfortunate—and the celebrated words in the introduction as to the printing of the sacred Romish version between the Greek and Hebrew originals, displayed, like the Saviour of the world, between two thieves, gave a somewhat profane expression to the feelings of reverence for the version that was authorised by the Church.

In the preface or prologue to the whole work, the authorship of which is uncertain, but which must, at least, have been approved and was probably written by Ximenez, occurs the oft-quoted sentence: *Mediam aūt inter has latinā beati Hieronymi translationē velut intēr synagogam & oriētalem ecclesiam posuimus tanq: duos hinc & inde latrones medium autē Jesum hoc est Romanam siue latinā Ecclesiam collocātes.*

That the Vulgate, itself a translation, and in places a by no means critical translation, should with such irreverent jocosity have been preferred to the original, was only in accordance with

[1] The *Codex Bessarionis* presented to Ximenez by the Republic of Venice would also appear to have been used. (Ximenez himself says in the preface: "To these we have added not a few, partly transcribed from that most correct manuscript of Bessarion sent me by the Senate of Venice".—H.)

[2] For more than one kind suggestion in the writing and printing of this chapter, I am indebted to my old master and friend, the Reverend Dr. Gwynn, Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, where I have seen and handled a superb copy of this famous edition. Mr. Quaritch, in a recent *Catalogue*, thus describes a copy valued by him at £150: *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, Hebraice, Chaldaice et Græce*, cum tribus interpretationibus latinis; de mandato, ac sumtibus cardinalis D. F. Francisci Ximenis de Cisneros, impressa atque edita curis Demetrii Cretensis, Antonii Nebrissensis, Lopez Astuniga, Alphonsi Zamora et aliorum, six vols., folio; a complete copy, including the rare sheet of six leaves, containing a Greek preface to St. Paul's epistles, which is seldom found in the book, having been printed after the completion of the New Testament.

Catholic orthodoxy; and, far from shocking the feelings of any contemporary reader, the words of the introduction appeared, no doubt, a fine, if somewhat a bold figure, expressing an uncontrovertible dogma or position.[1]

But the literary enterprise of Ximenez was by no means confined to the editing of the Great Polyglot. The *Regulæ Vitæ* of Saint Vincent Ferrer, the works of the Bishop of Avila (El Tostado, *ob.* 1455) and a number of religious and theological works, both in Latin and in Castilian, including a life of St. Thomas of Canterbury, were published by him at Alcalá. An edition of Aristotle was undertaken under his supervision; but not having been finished at the time of his death, the work was disregarded and abandoned by his successor. Nor was his patronage confined to works of great learning and scholarship; and some popular books on agriculture, prepared by an experienced husbandman, saw the light under his Catholic patronage. Ximenez is said, moreover, to have printed the Office of the Mass,[2] with musical notes, for the use of the choirs throughout his diocese: and his rescue from oblivion of the old Gothic or Mozarabic Liturgy[3] will ever be associated with his name and his liberality.

[1] The Complutensian text has been followed in some later editions, notably by Plantin, in his *Antwerp Polyglot* (1562-72).

[2] It was in 1500 that Melchior Gorris, of Novara, undertook, by permission of Ximenez, but at his own expense, the printing—executed by the hand of Peter Hagenbach, a German—of the *Missale secundum regulam beati Isidori dictum Mozarabes.* Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music*, 84, 85. Ximenez at the same time seems to have added a chapel, *ad Corpus Christi*, in the cathedral of Toledo; and founded and endowed a *college* or company of thirteen priests—*Mozarabes sodales*—charged with the constant daily performance of the ancient service in the chapel, which is still reserved for their successors. In later times the example of Ximenez was followed at Salamanca by Bishop Maldonat de Talavera, and at Valladolid by Bishop Gasca.

[3] This most rare work was reprinted, strange to say, in Mexico, having been prepared by the Cardinal Archbishop of Mexico, D. Francisco Lorenzana, during his stay at Toledo, about 1765. The printing was executed at Puebla, or Angelopolis, under the superintendence of D. Francisco Fabian y Tuero, bishop of the diocese, and actually published there in 1770. On page 79 is an explanation of the Mozarabic system of musical notation, of the very highest value and interest.

For a fuller account of this interesting liturgy, see Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, pp. 166-183.

CHAPTER LIII.

DEATH OF ISABELLA.

(1504.)

In June, 1504, the queen, who had for some time been ailing, and who seems to have suffered from some nervous disease, was struck down suddenly by fever. She had lived a hard life. She had never spared herself, or others. The unhappy marriages of her children had cast a dark shadow over her life. But hers was not the nature to repine. Diligent, abstemious, resolute, she had borne pain and suffering, and she was not afraid to face death. Unable at length to rise from her couch, as the autumn drew to a close, she continued to transact her accustomed business, gave audience to ambassadors, chatted with privileged visitors, and in the words of an astonished stranger, governed the world from her sick bed.[1] At length, on the 12th of October, she felt the end was near, and with keen and unclouded intellect, she dictated that celebrated testament, so long the subject of controversy among friends and foes in every country in Europe.

Upon the death of the little Prince Miguel at Granada, in the summer of the year 1500, the Catholic kings had been moved to take serious thought for the succession to the throne of Castile. Their schemes had come to nought. Their plans had miscarried. Their hopes were buried in the grave. Prince John was dead; his sister Isabella was dead; her son Miguel was dead. The heiress of Castile was their daughter Joanna married to a suspected stranger, herself indifferent to her native land, to her parents' wishes, and above all to the religion which was the mainspring of their lives.

On the death of the Prince of Asturias in 1498, the ever watchful sovereigns had actually despatched a secret mission to

[1] Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, i., 8.

Flanders to inquire into the political and religious views of the archduchess; and Isabella had been shocked and scandalised to learn[1] that, enfranchised from the restraint of her mother and her ecclesiastical followers in Spain, Joanna had become a careless, if not a doubtful Catholic, that she "had little or no devotion," that she would not receive a spiritual director despatched by her mother from Spain, that she had infinitely distressed the pious sub-prior of Santa Cruz, by refusing to confess on the Feast of the Ascension;[2] and that she was "in the hands of worthless clerics from Paris".[3] Some months later, after the death of the Queen of Portugal, in August, 1498, had rendered her succession almost a certainty, with nothing but the feeble life of the little Miguel between her and the throne of Spain, the reports from the clerical envoys were even more disquieting. Joanna "had a hard and obdurate heart".[4] "She had no piety." Flanders moreover was already honeycombed with heresy. And one Muxica was said to exercise an unfortunate influence over the archduchess,[5] in spite of the urgent remonstrance of the Spanish clerics. Lastly, Joanna was reported to be quite indifferent to the criticism of her parents in Spain; and refused even to send an affectionate message to her mother by the mouth of the clerical envoys.

That so graceless a daughter and so very doubtful a Catholic should sit upon the throne of Castile, and command, with her German-Flemish consort, the obedience of Deza and of Ximenez —this, indeed, would be a national calamity, greater perhaps than the most Catholic sovereigns could suffer themselves to bring down upon Spain. It is difficult, no doubt, for us to see such things with the eyes of Isabella or of Ximenez, but we must at least recognise that the queen was not a woman to allow any mundane morality to interfere with what she believed to be the true interests of her Church and of her God.

That the sovereigns did not so greatly err as regards Philip

[1] In May and June, 1498.

[2] Sub-prior of Santa Cruz to Ferdinand and Isabella, 16th August, 1498. *Calendar*, etc., i., pp. 181-4.

[3] 1st September, 1498, Fray Andreas to Juana. *Calendar*, supplementary vol., pp. 50, 51.

[4] *Ibid.*, 15th January, 1499. It seems from this letter, however, that the archduchess gave some promise of amendment in such matters.

[5] Some of the Spaniards who are in Flanders speak badly of the Inquisition, telling horrible things of it, and pretending that it ruins the country. *Bishop of Badajoz to Ximenez*, 8th May, 1516. *Simancas*, printed in *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., p. 281.

may be judged from the fact that almost the only administrative act of his two months' reign in Castile was to send the very reverend inquisitors, Lucero and Deza, about their business, a piece of iniquity which, according to Zurita, called for the vengeance of heaven, and was justly followed by the prince's death. Lucero, indeed, had been guilty of nothing more serious than torturing witnesses to give false evidence as to the orthodoxy of a great number of the most respectable people in Cordova, who were haled before the Inquisition, and duly burned. But the birth of Charles V., in February, 1500, and the death of little Miguel in July of the same year, decided the fate of Joanna.

As early as the summer of 1502, while Joanna was residing *enceinte* at Alcalá de Henares, the Cortes was moved by her mother to provide for the government in the event, not only of her absence from the realm, but of her "being present in Castile, but unwilling or unable to reign;"[1] and a decree was registered that in such a case, Ferdinand should alone govern or administer the kingdom in her stead, until her son Charles should have attained the unusually delayed majority of twenty years. This extraordinary provision or prevision was made at the very time that Joanna was being welcomed by her father and mother in their dominions, and presented to the States, not only of Castile, but of Aragon, for public recognition and homage as their future queen.[2] It is evident that in 1502, whether Joanna was mad or sane, her parents were guilty of the most odious duplicity.[3] But Isbaella was already ailing. It seems to have been taken for granted that she would die before her husband; and it was only in accordance with the temper and the policy of the sovereigns that they should wish that Castile should be ruled, after her death, not by Philip the Fair and Joanna the fickle, but by Ferdinand the Catholic. And that which the sovereigns willed was commonly counted as law in Spain.

No reasons were given. The queen's wishes sufficed. An intimation, as we have seen, was conveyed to the faithful Cortes. But the future government of the country was provided for by royal letters patent. It is not necessary to suppose with Mr.

[1] . . . *ó estando en estos reynos, no los quisiere ó no podiere regir ó governar.* No mention whatever is made of Philip. See *Letters Patent of Isabella* as printed in the *Supplementary Volume* of the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), pp. 64-67.

[2] A. Rodriguez, *Vida de Juana la loca* (1892), pp. 62-74.

[3] As a proof of her sanity, it may be noted that her behaviour at the Court of Louis XII., on her visit at the end of 1501, was in the highest degree prudent and dignified, and worthy of the approbation of Señor Rodriguez. See *Vida de Juana la loca*, p. 62.

Bergenroth, by way of accounting for this domestic preference, that Joanna was a heretic. There is, indeed, as Monsieur Gachard and other writers have justly pointed out, no good reason for such a supposition. But it is equally certain that the sovereigns detested both Philip and his Flemish connections; that they had very little confidence in Joanna; and that a council composed of the king and queen was not likely to have lost sight of the interests of *one* of the parties, while they may *both* have fairly considered that the government of Ferdinand was the best—according to their views—for Spain and for Christendom.[1] The constitution of Castile recognised large powers in a reigning sovereign to provide for the succession in doubtful cases; and without any great moral wickedness, Isabella may have desired, as she may have thought it good, that her experienced husband and not her hysterical daughter should succeed her on her throne.[2] The intermediate hypocrisy was merely a characteristic episode in the transaction. The scheme was, of course, unjust to Joanna and to Philip. But pure ethics was a study not very highly valued at the court of Ferdinand. Philip and Joanna, moreover, were both well provided for in Flanders, where they evidently wished to reside. The queen was thus justified, in her own eyes, in preferring the interests of her country and of her Church to those of a daughter of her house. Of the views of her consort we can have no doubt whatever. As he had quite made up his mind that he would survive Isabella, the postponement of his daughter's accession would prolong his tenure of supreme power, and make him practically King of Castile and Aragon for the term of his natural life. Between this dignified and magnificent destiny and that of relegation to the little kingdom of Aragon, whence he would see his son-in-law undoing the work of his life in Castile, the difference was so shocking, that Ferdinand the Catholic would have been more than human if he had not decided to secure for himself the richer share. But Ferdinand the Catholic was by no means more than human. He was, on the contrary, very human indeed.

[1] D. Vicente de Lafuente in his *Juana la loca vindicada de la nota de herejia* (1869), fiercely attacks Mr. Bergenroth, and asserts boldly (1) that Juana was mad, and (2) that she was a good Catholic. But, as M. Gachard remarks, "*il n'apporte aucum document nouveau dans la discussion*". See Gachard in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de la Belgique*, 1869, vol. xxvii., p. 717.

[2] At least until a grandson with Spanish blood in his veins should take up the sceptre from the ever capable hands of his grandfather.

Thus it had come to be at least tacitly agreed upon in the palace that on the death of Isabella, Ferdinand and not Joanna should reign in Castile. The will, which Isabella revised and signed in October, 1504, was intended to give effect to the secret resolution of three or four years before.

The language of the queen's testament is clear and dignified. Her funeral was to be simple, as befitted a great lady. Her body was to repose within the walls of the bright city that she had wrested from the Moor at Granada. Her debts were to be paid. Many charities were endowed. A magnificent income was settled upon Ferdinand.[1] The unjust imposition of the Alcabala was, if possible, to be discontinued.[2] Isabella ordered moreover that a number of court offices should be abolished, and she revoked and annulled the grants of cities, towns and fortresses which had been "made in consequence of necessity or importunity, and not of free will," to various members of the Castilian aristocracy; and further desired that her successor would under no circumstances alienate any part of the dominions of the crown.[3] But the true importance of the queen's testament is found of course in her dispositions with regard to Joanna.

The last document to which Isabella affixed her feeble signature, on the 23rd of November,[4] was in the nature of a codicil to her will, in which she enjoins upon her successor the task of checking the abuse of power in the new colonies, of which sad tidings had already reached her; and to cause the conversion of the Indians to be undertaken with the utmost gentleness and justice. But example is more powerful than precept; and the lesson that had been learned at Granada and was still taught at Seville, was not forgotten on the far away islands of the West.

[1] The amount was 10,000,000 maravedis, together with one-half the entire revenue to be derived from the New World; truly a royal endowment.

[2] This was in the codicil.

[3] This shameful breach of faith or posthumous royal plunder was more particularly felt by the Duke of Najera and the Marquis of Villena; and their not unnatural indignation was displayed in their prompt opposition to the regency or rule of Ferdinand. Prescott (li., 363) is very angry with Robertson for (ii., p. 17) questioning the genuineness of Isabella's testament; and he devotes a long note maintaining the certainty of its genuineness, authenticity and wisdom. But its genuineness was at all events questioned in Flanders immediately after its promulgation; and the Aragonese ambassadors who were sent to Brussels on the death of Isabella, were constrained to devote a good deal of time and attention to maintaining that the will was not only a genuine document, but that it represented the true wishes of the queen. Marsollier, *Vie de Ximenes*, ii., 54-56.

[4] The original is preserved in the Royal Library at Madrid.

Some deputies from the wretched people, given over to the uncontrolled and savage tyranny of the Spanish colonists, had indeed arrived at Seville from St. Domingo as early as the autumn of 1500, over four years previously. But they had for long been unable even to obtain an audience of the sovereigns. Ximenez at length caused their miserable story to be told to the queen, at the time when the Council of the Indies was established to give undivided attention to the affairs of the colonies. But the Council, like other councils, and boards of supervision, gave very little attention to the complaints of the weak and the oppressed;[1] and the bitter cry of the Indians was unheard or unheeded in Castile. It rang indeed in the ears of the dying queen, and provoked her tardy interference. But her death took away what little chance there ever had been that the complaints of the subject Indians would receive attention at court. Isabella herself had done little or nothing in her lifetime. Ferdinand was far too busy with his intrigues nearer home to give a thought to such humble and distant sufferers, after her death. Nor did Ximenez apparently do anything further in the matter. For he, too, was occupied with the Inquisition and with the Regency; with the exclusion of Philip and Joanna from Castile; and with his own plans for the invasion of Africa.

At last on the 26th of November, 1504, as the church bells of Medina del Campo were ringing out the hour of noon, the spirit of Isabella of Castile flitted away from this world; and her mortal remains were conducted by a mournful company to their last resting place under the shadow of the red towers of Alhambra. Through storm and tempest; amid earthquake and inundation, across mountain and river, the affrighted travellers wended their way. For the sun was not seen by day nor the stars by night, during three long and weary weeks, as if the very forces of nature were disturbed at the death of a giant among the princes of the earth.

The character of Isabella has suffered to an uncommon extent from an ignorant glorification of virtues that she was far from possessing, and the concealment of those transcendent powers that made her not only one of the greatest rulers of Spain, but one of the greatest women in the history of the world. Until the opening of the treasure-house at Simancas displayed her correspondence to the world, she was only

[1] Marsollier, i., p. 354-360.

known from the extravagant but somewhat colourless panegyrics of contemporary chroniclers, who recognised at least that she was a royal lady, compelling their gallant admiration, and that she was immensely superior to her husband, whom it was necessary also to glorify, as the last Spanish sovereign of Spain.[1]

On the death of Ferdinand, Spain passed away from the Spaniard; and the costly glory of the rule of the Hapsburgs was followed only by humiliation and decay under the rule of the Bourbons. The Imperial greatness of Charles V. no doubt eclipses, in the history of Europe and of the world, the far more heroic record of Isabella in Spain. But Spain under Charles was reduced to the position of a province—albeit the greatest province of the empire—sending as of old, under Tiberius or Domitian, her bravest soldiers and her richest treasure to minister to the ambition of a foreign imperator. What then can be more natural than that the admiration of Pulgar and Bernaldez, of Peter Martyr and of Zurita, should be practically if uncritically magnified by subsequent Spanish historians, dwelling fondly on the bygone splendour of their country, and attaching to the sainted memory of the last of the Castilian sovereigns the imperishable glory of the palmy days of Castile.

Isabella the Catholic, as she is usually portrayed by historians, is something between an unusually intelligent nun and an unusually devoted housewife, deferential to her husband, attached to her children, unduly subject indeed to her confessor, but honestly and purely religious,[2] simple in her mode of life, pious in her conversation, above all things overflowing with mercy and gentleness, a creature so tender-hearted that she could not bring herself to witness the national sport of her country, lest her pity should be too painfully excited by an accident to

[1] On the death of the queen the worst qualities of her husband were seen, unchecked, and the value of her beneficent influence may be fairly judged.

[2] Such persons as had opportunities of seeing her, and of judging by their own observation, could not find words expressive enough to describe the splendour of her attire. We have in the journal of Machado, who accompanied the English ambassadors to Spain as king-at-arms in the year 1489, printed in Gairdner's *Memorials of Henry VII.*, a relation of her *toilette* worthy of a court milliner. He declares that he never beheld such magnificence, and the description of the velvet, gold and pearls which she wore is so minute that it leaves us no room to doubt of his being a connoisseur. When he, therefore, assured the King of England that a single *toilette* of Queen Isabella amounted in value to 200,000 *escudos*, and that he never saw her twice, even on the same day, whether it were at an audience, a bull-fight (*sic*) or a ball, in the same costume, we may well believe that the simplicity of her attire, upon which some of her panegyrists are so fond of expatiating, was no more real than the other qualities with which she has been ignorantly endowed. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), 1862, Introd., pp. 34, 35.

an awkward bull-fighter. In a word, an amiable princess, unhappily somewhat bigoted, but otherwise a discreet and estimable person. The establishment and maintenance of the Inquisition, the banishment of the Jews, the massacre of the Moslems, the queen's constant breaches of faith to friends and foes, her pitiless disregard of human suffering—these things, we are told by Prescott and other less distinguished writers, with a recurrence that at length becomes almost comic, were so foreign to her amiable and gentle nature, that although they appeared to be her work, it is obvious that some undisclosed villain must be to blame. Torquemada, Ferdinand, Ximenez, or, perhaps, the victims themselves. Her spoliation of the nobles, her humiliation of the Popes, her subjection of Ximenez, her protection of Torquemada, her degradation of Katharine, and her dreadful policy towards Joanna, these things are treated as exceptions, such as might fairly be expected, to throw into stronger relief the general rule of her otherwise gentle life. The result is a creature of the imagination so impossible and so fantastic as to be absolutely without any human interest; somewhat after the manner of the wooden Virgins that adorn the churches of Spain, whose form, be it fair or foul, is concealed by the sham jewellery and tinsel furbelows that have been accumulated by the piety of generations of ignorant devotees. Yet the ideal Isabella has long been suffered to remain to confound these simple people, who would fain believe that a tree, albeit of royal growth and giant proportions, is assuredly to be known by its fruits.

The real Isabella is one of the most remarkable characters in history. Not only was she the most masterful, but, from her own point of view, by far the most successful ruler that ever sat upon the throne of Spain, or of any of the kingdoms of the Peninsula; she stands in the front rank of the great sovereigns of Europe, and challenges comparison with the greatest women who have ever held sway in the world. A reformer and a zealot, an autocrat and a leader of men, with a handsome face and a gracious manner, scarce concealing the iron will that lay beneath, Isabella was patient in adversity, dignified in prosperity, at all times quiet, determined, thorough.

In one particular she stands alone among the great ruling women, the conquerors and empresses of history. She is the only royal lady, save, perhaps, Maria Theresa of Hungary, who maintained through life the incongruous relations of a masterful sovereign and a devoted wife, and shared not only her bed but

her throne with a husband whom she respected—a fellow-sovereign whom she neither feared nor disregarded. To command the obedience of a proud and warlike people is given to few of the great men of history. To do the bidding of another with vigour and with discretion is a task that has been but rarely accomplished by a heaven-born minister. But to conceive and carry out great designs, with one hand in the grasp of even the most loyal of companions, is a triumphant combination of energy with discretion, of the finest tact with the most indomitable resolution, that stamps Isabella of Spain as a being more vigorous than the greatest men, more discreet than the greatest women of history. Semiramis, Zenobia, Boadicea, Elizabeth of England, Catharine of Russia, not one of them was embarrassed by a partner on the throne. The partner of Isabella was not only a husband but a king, jealous, restless and untrustworthy. It is in this respect, and in the immense scope of her political action, that the great Queen of Castile is comparable with the bold Empress-King of Hungary, rather than with any other of the great queens and royal ladies of history.

The husband of Zenobia indeed enjoyed the title of Augustus; but it was only after his assassination, that the lady earned her fame as a ruler. Catharine caused her Imperial consort to be executed as a preliminary to her vigorous reign in Russia; Boadicea was the successor and not the colleague of Prasutagus; and Semiramis, though herself somewhat a mythical personage, is said to have slain both her husband and his rival, in her assertion of her absolute power. Yet Isabella revolutionised the institutions of her country—religious, political, military, financial; she consolidated her dominions, humiliated her nobles, cajoled her commons, defied the Pope, reformed the clergy; she burned some 10,000 of her subjects; she deported 1,000,000 more; and of the remnant she made a great nation; she brooked no man's opposition, in a reign of thirty years, and she died in the arms of the king, her husband!

Ferdinand of Aragon was no hero. But he was a strong man; a capable ruler; a clever, if a treacherous, diplomatist. And to this husband and consort was Isabella faithful through life, not merely in the grosser sense of the word, to which Ferdinand for himself paid so little heed; but in every way and walk of life. She supported him in his policy; she assisted him in his intrigues; she encouraged him in his ambitious designs; she lied for him, whenever prudence required it; she worked for him at all times, as she worked for Spain. For his policy,

his intrigues, his designs were all her own. Whenever the views of the king and queen were for a moment discordant, Isabella prevailed, without apparent conflict of authority. In her assumption of supremacy in the marriage contract;[1] in her nomination of Gonsalvo de Cordova to the command of the army; in her choice of Ximenez as the Primate of Spain, she carried her point, not by petulance or even by argument, but by sheer force of character; nor did she strain for one moment, even in these manifestations of her royal supremacy, the friendly and even affectionate relations that ever subsisted between herself and her husband. The love and devotion of Isabella was a thing of which the greatest of men might well have been proud. And though Ferdinand the Catholic may not fairly be counted among the greatest, he was a man wise enough to appreciate the merits of his queen, and to accept and maintain the anomalous position in which he found himself as her consort.

In war at least it might have been supposed that the queen would occupy a subordinate position. Yet in no department of State did Isabella show to greater advantage than as the organiser of victorious armies; not as a *batallador*, after the fashion of her distinguished ancestors in Castile and in Aragon; but as the originator of an entirely new system of military administration.

Before her time, in Spain, war had been waged by the great nobles and their retainers in attendance upon the king. There was no such thing as uniformity of action or preparation, no central organisation of any kind. Each man went into battle to fight and to forage as opportunity offered. Each commander vied with his fellow nobles in deeds of bravery, and accorded to them such support as he chose. The sovereign exercised a general authority, and assumed the active command of the united multitude of soldiers, on rare and important occasions. If victory followed, as at the *Navas de Tolosa*, the soldiers were rewarded with the plunder, and took possession of the property of the enemy. If the Christians were defeated, the army melted away; and the king betook himself to the nearest shelter.

But Isabella had no sooner assumed the title of Queen of Castile, than she was called upon to maintain her pretensions in the field. With no experience but that of a country palace, with no training but that of a country cloister, she set herself

[1] Or rather in the settlement signed by the king and queen immediately after the death of Henry IV. in 1474.

Cf. Dormer, *Discursos varios de historia*, etc., Zaragoza, 1683, p. 295; Prescott, i., 183.

to work to organise an army.[1] On the 1st of May, 1474, 500 horsemen represented the entire forces of the fair usurper. By the 19th of July she had collected over 40,000 men, had armed and equipped them ready for the field, and had sent them forward under the command of Ferdinand to the frontier. Although she was at the time in delicate health, she was constantly in the saddle, riding long distances from fortress to fortress, hurrying up recruits all day, dictating letters all night, giving her zealous personal attention to every detail of armoury and equipment, showing from the first that quiet energy and that natural aptitude for command that ever so constantly distinguished her. That her levies were not victorious in no way daunted her determination. A second army was raised by her, within a few weeks after the first had melted away under Ferdinand; nor would she listen to any offers of negotiation, until the enemy had been driven out of Castile.

In the conduct of the war of Granada, with time and money at her command, her preparations were upon a very different scale. The most skilful artificers were summoned from every part of Europe to assist in the work of supplying the army with the necessary material of war. Artillery, then almost unknown to the military art, was manufactured in Spain according to the best designs. Model cannon were imported, and the necessary ammunition collected from abroad. Sword-blades were forged at home. Not only a commissariat, but a field hospital—institutions till then unheard of in Spanish warfare—were organised and maintained under the personal supervision of the queen. The presence of a Royal lady on the day of battle would, as she rightly judged, have been rather a hindrance than a help: but she was very far from being a mere commissioner of supply. A first-rate horsewoman, she was constantly seen riding about the camp, encouraging, inspecting, directing; and in the last days of the siege of Granada, when the spirits of the troops had begun to flag, she appeared daily in complete armour, and showed herself upon more than one occasion in a post of danger on the field. The armies with which Gonsalvo de Cordova overran Calabria, and annihilated the French at Cerignola, were prepared and despatched by Isabella; and if in a subsequent campaign, the *Great Captain* was left without supplies or reinforcements, it was that the queen was already sickening to her death, broken down and worn out by her constant and enormous exertions.

[1] What little organisation there was in existence was at the disposal of her rival.

But with all her aptitude for military organisation, Isabella had no love for war. Her first campaign was undertaken to make good her pretensions to the crown. The extermination of the Moslems was a matter of religious feeling and patriotic pride, rather than an object of military glory; but she refused to pursue her conquest across the Straits of Gibraltar. The expeditions to Italy were a part of Ferdinand's diplomacy,[1] though the honour of victory must be shared between Isabella and her *Great Captain*. But the queen's ambition lay not in conquest abroad. On the contrary, as soon as the last province in Spain had been delivered from the foreign yoke of the Moor, she turned her attention to the peaceful development of the kingdom; and, unlettered warrior as she was, she bestowed her royal patronage upon students and studies, rather than upon the knights and nobles who had fought her battles before Granada.

The old foundations of the universities, the new art of printing, scholarship, music, architecture found in her a generous patron, not so much from predilection as from policy. Men of letters and men of learning were welcomed at her court, not only from every part of Spain, but from every part of Europe. For herself she had little appreciation of literature. She neither knew nor cared what influence her beloved Inquisition would have upon science. But as long as the queen lived, learning was honoured in Spain.

In this as in all other things, her judgment of men was unerring. The queen who made Gonsalvo the Commander-in-Chief of her armies, and Ximenez the President of her Council, who selected Torquemada as her Grand Inquisitor, and Talavera as her Archbishop of Granada, made no mistake when she invited Peter Martyr to instruct her son in polite letters, and commissioned Lebrija to compose the first Castilian grammar for the use of her court.

Of her beauty of face and form, we have already spoken. Yet vanity was unknown to her nature. Simple and abstemious in her daily life, and despising pomp for its own sake, no one could make a braver show on fitting occasions; and the richness of her apparel,[2] the glory of her jewels, and the noble dignity of her presence have been celebrated by subjects and strangers.

[1] It must be explained that the object was a purely Aragonese one, in which Isabella and Castile were not directly interested.—H.

[2] *Pompa demasiada;* distinguished for undue pomp, says Bernaldez, *Reyes Catolicos*, i., 4.

More devoted by far to her husband than to her children, more devoted to her country and to her Church than to any man or woman in Spain, her family life is the least pleasing feature of her character. Her treatment of her daughter Katharine was at best inconsiderate; her treatment of Joanna was to the last degree heartless. The most that may fairly be urged in her favour is that in her declining health she may have listened too obediently to the suggestions of Ferdinand, and the inevitable friar, and sacrificed the least dutiful of her daughters to the odious policy of her husband.[1]

To judge man or woman for acting according to the dictates of their religion is a somewhat delicate task, and may lead the modest writer of history into the province of Ethics or even of Polemics, if the tendency be not severely checked.[2] But of what is commonly spoken of as the bigotry of Isabella, the admiration of Catholic historians, and the despair of Protestant panegyrists, it is somewhat difficult to speak without offence or paradox. Religious, as she understood the word, she undoubtedly was, constant, devout, zealous. Her religion, moreover, was no cloak. It was a part of her nature, and as far as she herself was concerned, a force rather than a hindrance throughout life. For to her, and for her, it was true. That she was led by her devotion to a Church that she judged to be infallible, to hand over her subjects to torture and exile, to break her plighted word, to subordinate all moral consideration to the triumph of a narrow orthodoxy—these things are not denied, they are rather gloried in, by many even among her modern admirers, while her more dreadful exhibitions of absolute power were applauded without a pang of remorse by the wisest and the worthiest of her contemporaries.[3]

But if her religious obedience brought suffering and death to so many of her subjects, her royal independence brooked no interference, even from the head of her Church, in matters in which her personal dignity was concerned. Innocent and Alexander fared no better at her hands than if they had been

[1] The question will be again alluded to in chapter lv.

[2] The man who would class Isabella with Torquemada, or even with Philip II., must have studied history and human nature alike in vain. If she resembled any of her contemporaries, it was Cardinal Ximenez. But her judgment was more just, her vigour more chastened, her resolution more indomitable.

[3] Isabella, according to Bergenroth, was of a highly nervous temperament, and suffered much from ill-health during the last four or five years of her life. *Calendar of State Papers* (1862), Spain, vol. i., Introd., p. 38. It is well to remember this in considering her treatment of Columbus, and even of Joanna.

Jews or Moslems, when they thwarted her political aspirations, or sought to assert their spiritual authority in matters in which she felt herself within her dominions supreme.[1] She knew the true worth of Gianbattista Cibò, and of Roderic Borgia, as well as any cardinal at Rome.[2] And she used these Holy Fathers for her own purposes with a kind of cynical deference, demanding and ever obtaining their Bulls and their Briefs for the more effectual compulsion of friends and enemies, for the furtherance of her foreign or domestic policy, and even for the quieting of her own conscience.[3]

To draw the line between spiritual infallibility and temporal arrogance has puzzled more subtle intellects than that of Isabella the Catholic. The queen, like other people, decided the matter for herself in her own way. It is open to any man to call her a saint and a heroine. It is open to any man to call her a bigot and a tyrant. But no man at least may deny that she was a great queen.[4]

[1] See for example, as early as 1482, as to the investiture of the bishops of Cordova and Cuenca. Sixtus IV. having paid no attention to the representations of Isabella with regard to the appointments, the queen ordered all the Castilians at once to leave Rome, and threatened to summon a general council of Christian sovereigns to consider the question of Church government. Sixtus, it need hardly be said, speedily gave way. Lafuente, ix., 190-3.

[2] For an example of the anti-clerical vigour of Isabella in Spain, see Pulgar, iii., 66, where we read that the priests who had striven vainly against the queen were *desnaturados de los Reynos de Castilla.* See also Lafuente, vol. ix., pp. 527-536.

[3] "Though this business—the thwarting of the designs of Charles VIII.—is the business of God and the Church," says Isabella, writing with her own hand, in her most secret cypher, to her ambassador in London, "to defend which all we Christian princes are obliged—there might be mixed in it something of our own interest." Isabella to Puebla, 10th July, 1496. *Calendar*, etc., vol. i., pp. 108-110. See also the queen's letter to Rome, dated Cordova, 7th September, 1490, referred to in the *Calendar*, vol. i., Introd., p. 46.

[4] In the *Anales breves* of D. Rafael Floranes Robles y Encinas (1787), there is a most useful and carefully compiled *Memorial y Registro* of all the places at which Ferdinand and Isabella lodged from 1496 to 1504. *Doc. Ineditos*, pp. xviii., 237-339.

Nothing can more clearly show the wonderful activity of the sovereigns, especially of Isabella. A mere list of the names of the places throughout Spain, at which the court was found, would fill a page. But for purposes of reference and comparison this handy travelling diary is most useful, and I feel personally indebted to the painstaking diligence of the compiler, Don Lorenzo Galindez Carbajal, member of the council and household of Ferdinand, Isabella, Juana and Charles V. (A similar travelling diary giving an account of the movements of Charles V. was compiled by his secretary Vandernesse, printed in Bradford's *Correspondence of Charles V.*—H.)

CHAPTER LIV.

THE LAST VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

(1502—1506.)

After long and weary waiting; after neglect and disappointment, and hope ever deferred; after rebuffs and insults that would have broken the spirit of a man less noble-hearted than Christopher Columbus, the great discoverer was at length permitted to revisit his new world; and on the 11th of May, 1503, he set sail once more for the Western Seas. He went not, indeed, as admiral or viceroy, nor with the full powers and well-appointed fleet of the brother of Calatrava, but as commandant of four old-fashioned caravels, permitted, rather than authorised, to seek new possessions for Castile.

Columbus had been most anxious to construct some new ships on improved lines; but the necessary licence could not be obtained. The largest vessel of the four that was entrusted to him, measured but *seventy* tons; and 143 souls all told sailed in his most royal fleet. He was not even allowed, by the terms of his commission, to touch at Hispaniola. His duty was only to discover. He was not to be permitted to enjoy. The ships, however, especially the *Gallega*, of sixty tons, had become so leaky by the time they had reached the West Indies, that he ran to the port of St. Domingo to refit. In the harbour was riding a noble fleet of no less than thirty-two vessels, collected by Brother Ovando, with Brother Bobadilla, and over 200,000 golden castellanos already on board, ready to start for Spain. Yet the needed succour was denied to Columbus, and he was forbidden to land, or even to hold any communication with the shore.

The great heart of the navigator was not to be hardened by all this criminal insolence; and he once more sent a messenger to the town, not to ask again for assistance or even for shelter, but to warn the assembled fleet of an approaching

hurricane. Then, and not till then, did he himself seek refuge with his leaky caravels in the little port of Azua. His forecast was realised. The hurricane burst; and his crazy squadron rode out the storm in safety. But for the great *Armada* of Ovando was reserved a very different fate. Disregarding the warnings of Columbus, the Calatravan had given orders to his captains to weigh anchor and to set sail without delay. The fleet was stricken by the tornado. Twenty vessels were at once sent to the bottom; and of the thirty treasure ships that set out from St. Domingo, one small caravel alone was spared to reach the coast of Spain. Bobadilla and his castellanos, Ovando's plunder, the spoil of tens of thousands of murdered Indians—all were swallowed up by the sea.

Having weathered the storm, and repaired his ships as best he could, Columbus continued his voyage to the westward, and by the end of July he made the coast of Honduras in Central America, whence he sailed to the southward, amid inconceivable hardships, in search of the golden region of Veragua. Veragua was found, and formally annexed to Castile. A settlement was made, and abandoned after a brief occupation in April, 1503. Seven score men may not occupy a country; and Columbus, with a fleet reduced to two ships in a sinking condition, succeeded in reaching Jamaica, where he was suffered to remain one whole year on the verge of starvation by Ovando, who was roasting friendly Indians alive in the neighbouring island of Hispaniola.[1] In the dreadful and diabolical annals of the colonisation of the American Indies there is no name more infamous than that of this religious knight, the favoured rival of the discoverer of the New World. But at length the public opinion even of the adventurers over whom he ruled was outraged by his abandonment of Columbus. A caravel was sent to Jamaica. The castaways were rescued, and Columbus was immediately sent back to Spain.

A few days before the death of Isabella, on the 7th of November, 1504, a tempest-tossed vessel, in charge of a weary crew, cast anchor in the little port of San Lucar at the mouth of the Guadalquivir. Columbus was once more in Spain;

[1] Faith is staggered, says Prescott (ii., 26), by the recital of the number of victims immolated in those fair regions within a few years after their discovery.

According to Las Casas (i., 187) *twelve million* Indians were destroyed in less than forty years after the discovery of the New World; and Herrera admits that in the single island of Hispaniola or San Domingo the native population was reduced in twenty-five years from over 1,000,000 to less than 15,000 souls. *Ind. Occ.*, dec. i., lib. x., c. xii.

broken by disease, and yet more by disappointment, but still cheerful, self-reliant and hopeful. The news of Ovando's atrocities had preceded him; the burning of the Caciques, the murder of Anaconda, the wholesale massacre of the Indians, the abandonment of the admiral himself at Jamaica. But the news was accompanied by gold; and Ovando was maintained in his high command.

As Columbus sailed over the bar of the Guadalquivir, Isabella the Catholic lay dying at Medina del Campo. Of the return of Columbus she did not live to hear. But of Ovando's atrocities, some tidings were permitted to reach her ears, and add to the grief and distress of her last moments. In a codicil to her celebrated testament, she begged her husband to protect the natives that had been committed to his care. But Ferdinand the Catholic was not a man to concern himself about the sufferings of distant Indians. The clauses in his wife's will that alone occupied his attention, while he was engaged in disposing of Philip and of Joanna, had nothing to do with new Spain beyond the Atlantic. Fray Ovando was quite good enough for St. Domingo.

Columbus was at length admitted to a final interview; but he failed to obtain redress or recognition, still less restitution or reward, at the hands of Ferdinand of Aragon. One gleam of hope was permitted to illumine his last days on earth, when Philip and Joanna landed in Spain, and a message from the admiral was acknowledged in a gracious and generous spirit by the prince from Gallicia. But the encouragement arrived too late. The great navigator was to sail no more the stormy seas of this world; and on the 20th of May, 1506, in a miserable lodging at Valladolid, in a house that is still pointed out to the curious traveller, the spirit of one of the best and noblest of men that is honoured by two continents, fled away from the confines of earth to the unknown land, far beyond Atlantic and Pacific, where injustice or wrong may not be found.

Columbus left two sons; Diego by his Portuguese wife; and Fernando by Beatriz Enriquez. Don Diego succeeded to his father's title, and recovered some of his rights at the hands of Charles V. Don Fernando[1] devoted his life to a study of his

[1] Fernando visited Louvain in search of books in 1531, and came across the great scholar Clenardus, whom he induced to return with him to Spain.

A good many interesting facts in connection with this visit, and more especially as regards the astounding decay of Arabic scholarship, or even the simplest acquaintance with the language, not only at Salamanca, but at *Granada*,

father's works and the preservation of memorials of his deeds; and it is to his tender and zealous care that we owe the *Biblioteca Colombina* that is still cared for by the Chapter of Seville Cathedral. The restoration to Don Diego of his father's titles and honours, with a part of his father's property, was due in no wise to the justice of his cause, but to his fortunate marriage with Doña Maria de Toledo, a near relation of Ferdinand of Aragon.

Confirmed thus in his hereditary office, the young admiral embarked at San Lucar in the end of May, 1509, with his lady wife, his uncles Diego and Bartolomé and his younger brother Fernando. The goodly company arrived at St. Domingo in July, 1509, when Don Diego superseded Ovando, and retained his government of Hispaniola for no less than eighteen years, until his death in February, 1526.

His son Don Luis was compelled to renounce his vice-royalty, and his other hereditary rights; receiving in exchange a handsome pension, and the title of Duke of Veragua, which is still borne by the actual descendant, in the female line, of the great navigator—His Excellency Don Cristobal Colon de la Cerda y Larreategui, Duke of Veragua, who was born in 1837, and whose eldest son and heir carries on the great name of Cristobal.[1]

will be found in an article in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1893, entitled "Clenardus". (The matter is also referred to in an additional note in the first volume of this work.—H.)

[1] The investigations of Señor Muñoz in the archives at Simancas and Seville, between 1781 and 1799, undertaken at the suggestion of the enlightened Charles III., were and are of the utmost value and interest. The work of Señor Muñoz was continued by Señor Navarrete, who published, in 1825, his *Coleccion de los Viajes y descubrimientos*, etc., in four volumes. A fifth volume was added in 1837. For fifty years this was the great authority upon the subject, and is the basis of Irving's agreeable and well-known life of the great navigator, which was published in 1827. Alexander Von Humboldt's *Examen critique de l'histoire et de la géographie du nouveau continent* is of much critical value, and Mr. Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* is a monument of patient and fruitful research; and his *Christophe Colomb, son origine, sa Vie, ses Voyages, sa famille et ses descendants*, 2 vols., large 8vo (Paris, 1884), superbly printed, is still perhaps the best and most authoritative work within the reach of those who do not read Spanish. But the most complete life of Columbus that has yet been published in any language is that of Don José Maria Asensio, entitled *Cristobal Colon, su vida, sus viages, sus descubrimientos*, 2 vols., folio, pp. 143 and 733, and 904, with maps, oleographs and numerous page illustrations, and illuminated borders (Barcelona, 1892). See also *Colon en España*, by Don Tomas Rodriguez Pinilla (Madrid, 1884). A vast amount of original and curious information with regard to the doings of the Spaniards in the early days of their *West Indian* government and exploration, will be found in the collection, entitled *Coleccion de Documentos Ineditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista, y organization de America y Oceania, sacados de los Archivos del Reino* (Madrid, 1864), etc.

CHAPTER LV.

FERDINAND TRIUMPHANT.

(1505.)

I.—*La Beltraneja and La Loca.*

The government of Isabella had been by no means perfect; but it had been efficient; and it had been well-nigh universally respected. On the queen's death, Spain became once more the theatre of intrigue, of scandal, of uncertainty, and of change; when every man suspected his neighbour, and rival regents divided the allegiance of wavering subjects.

The great object of Ferdinand's ambition was to continue to reign not only over Aragon, but over Castile. He accordingly, within a few hours of the death of Isabella, made a formal and public renunciation of the crown that he had so long worn as her consort, and caused proclamations to be made of the accession of Philip and Joanna to the vacant throne; while he assumed for himself the modest title of administrator of the kingdom. The Cortes was convoked in the name of Queen Joanna; and her royal standard was solemnly unfurled in the great square of Toledo.[1]

[1] There is a concise history of the affairs in Spain, of the letters to and from Flanders, and of the negotiations generally, from contemporary MSS., chiefly those of D. Galindez Carbajal, councillor of the Catholic kings, by Rafael Floranes Robles y Encinas (1787), published in the eighteenth volume of *Documentos Inedi-tos*, pp. 339-423. Among the various documents printed, is a letter from Ferdinand the Catholic to the Archduke Philip giving the news of the death of Isabella, and begging his son-in-law to come to Spain with the utmost expedition, *con la reina mi hija*. The letter is addressed to *Philip by the Grace of God, King of Castile, Leon and Granada, and Prince of Aragon*, etc., etc. On the same evening (26th November) the standard of Queen Joanna, *Señora propietaria de estos reinos*, was solemnly and publicly raised by the Duke of Alva, cousin-german of King Ferdinand. By the end of the same month (*i.e.*, in less than four days) Ferdinand had gone to la Mejorada near Olmedo to meet Ximenez, *para entender en el Testamento de la Reina*. In December Ferdinand went to Toro, where he remained

All this was of course only preparatory to the confirmation and promulgation of the political testament of Isabella by the Cortes at Toro in January, 1505, and the investiture of Ferdinand himself with the powers and position of sole regent and *de facto* sovereign of the kingdom of Castile.

That this step should provoke the remonstrance of Philip, as the husband of Joanna, the rightful Queen of Castile, was only what might have been expected; but it provoked also the strong and practical remonstrance of the great territorial nobility. The proud and independent spirit of the Castilian magnates had bowed itself at once before the sex and the spirit of Isabella. As a woman, as a Castilian, and as a great lady, she had compelled their loyalty and their respect. Ferdinand of Aragon was a man and a foreigner; and the Castilian aristocracy saw no reason for preferring him to their lawful sovereign. Don John Manuel was despatched to Flanders as the representative of the nobles; and moved by this ever skilful envoy, Philip called upon his father-in law to resign his pretensions to supremacy in Castile, and to retire at once to his own kingdom of Aragon.

In the meantime, Ferdinand the Catholic had not been idle. He had, in the first place, despatched one Lope de Conchillos, an Aragonese gentleman devoted to his interests, to the court of the archduchess in Flanders; and the envoy had succeeded in obtaining from Joanna a letter,[1] approving the action of her father as regards the administration of Castile. The document, however, was handed by Conchillo's messenger, not to Ferdinand, but to Philip; and the scheme led to no further results than the imprisonment of the emissary, and a suspicious supervision of Joanna herself, which must have been peculiarly irritating to her nervous and supersensitive nature.

Meanwhile the widower of three months' standing had been seeking a new wife in a strange and most unexpected quarter

until the month of April of the next year, 1505, "*entendiendo en cumplir el Testamento de la Reina*, with Ximenez the Primate, and Deza, lately appointed Archbishop of Seville. *Anales breves*, in *Documentos Ineditos*, vol. xviii., 309-10.

In the *Bosquejo biografico de la Reina Doña Juana* (1874), Señor Rodriguez has collected a number of letters up to that time unpublished, bearing upon the question; and although his book is avowedly written as an answer to the calumnious suggestion of Bergenroth that Joanna was not mad (p. 10), he arrives at the conclusion, which I believe to be the just one, namely, that the queen was certainly not mad up to the date of her husband's death, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[1] This letter, says Marsollier (*Vie de Ximenes*, ii., 58), was written when Joanna was smarting under a fit of jealousy at some more than usually scandalous act of infidelity on the part of her husband, of which Conchillo made the most, for the accomplishment of his own ends.

The rights of Joanna, surnamed *La Beltraneja*, born in wedlock and recognised by her father, King Henry IV., as his successor on his throne, had only been subordinated to those of her aunt Isabella by force of arms. And Ferdinand, who had entered Castile in 1469, by marrying her rival and denying her legitimacy, now proposed to remain in Castile in 1505 by asserting her legitimacy, and marrying her himself!

The formal disposition of the crown under the hand of Henry IV.—conclusive of the legitimacy of Joanna—was, it was said, actually in the king's possession. Everything would, no doubt, have been satisfactorily ordered by Ferdinand, but the lady unhappily refused to entertain his proposals,[1] and the legitimate Queen of Spain remained unwedded in her Portuguese convent. Had she consented to reign, the title of Isabella would have been *ex post facto* impugned;[2] and had she been fortunate enough to bear a son to Ferdinand, the boy would have inherited the united kingdom of Aragon and Castile, to the exclusion of Charles V. of Germany. But as the title of Isabella was not called in question, her daughter Joanna remained Queen of Castile.[3]

[1] Ferdinand chose Don Hugo de Cardona—who was supposed to be his own son, and who certainly enjoyed his confidence to an extraordinary degree—to conduct the delicate negotiations. But neither Joanna herself nor Emmanuel, King of Portugal, would listen to his proposals. Cardona afterwards succeeded the *Great Captain* in Italy, and showed himself at least a very poor general. Pope Julius II., who was not a man to pardon military incapacity, used to speak of him as "the old woman". But he is said to have inherited some of his father's craft as a negotiator. See Marsollier, ii., 82.

[2] Cardinal Mendoza, on his death-bed in 1485, had advised the sovereigns to marry their son Juan to this Juana, as the best way of securing the future peace of the kingdom; and he deeply offended Isabella by telling her that Henry IV., on his own death-bed, had assured him of the legitimacy of his daughter. Marsollier, i., 155; P. Bembo, *Ist. Veniziana*, ii., 12; Guicciardini, *Ist.* viii.; Zurita, *Anales*, ix., 38.

[3] Although it was positively stated that Henry IV. died without having made any testamentary declaration or settlement of the succession, he did, as a fact, make a will, constituting his daughter Joanna Queen of Spain, and acknowledging her as his lawful child. The document was hidden by a priest at Almeida, in Portugal, until a short time before the death of Isabella, when it fell into the hands of Ferdinand, and was by him, in all probability, burnt, after Joanna's refusal to marry him. *Anales breves*, MS., printed in the *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., etc., vol. xviii., 253-5, where all names and details are fully given. Henry frequently and publicly declared that his daughter Joanna was his legitimate child. The last and most solemn occasion, apart from his will (*Doc. Ined.*, xviii., 253-5), was on the 26th of November, 1470, before all the prelates, grandees and commons of the realm at Val de Lozoya. Galindez Carbajal, *Anales breves*, MS., in *Doc. Ined.*, xviii., 255. (Flores, *Reinas Catolicas*, vol. iv., gives an account of Henry's death-bed declaration to the Prior of San Geronimo affirming Joanna's legitimacy.—H.)

Ferdinand was never discouraged by rebuff.[1] The succession of the first Joanna had been prevented by an offensive nickname. The succession of the second Joanna should be prevented by a title at least more personally shameful. *La Beltraneja* would not inherit. *La Loca* could not reign.

The character of Joanna of Castile was no doubt unhappily tempered, for the princess seems to have inherited much of the masterful and imperious nature of her mother, Isabella, with some of the incapacity of her grandfather John II. of Castile. But no one had ever supposed that she was anything but a wayward and a somewhat unmanageable girl. She had been by no means a favourite with her mother, who had been attached rather to her elder sister Isabella, and to her more hopeful brother Prince John. The princess had been at all times impatient of control, and punishment more severe than was even then usual in the discipline of children, had been employed in her home education.[2] But she had at least profited by her instruction, and is said not only to have been a good Latin scholar, but to have been able to improvise[3] a discourse in that learned language with correctness and fluency. Yet she seems to have been wanting in tact and discretion, and to have been the victim of a strong will and a violent temper, with but little power of self-control. In a word, her nature and temperament seem to have been of the kind now more commonly known as hysterical. Passionately devoted to the archduke, the handsomest prince of his day, anxious when absent, and jealous when near her husband, Joanna had few friends in Flanders, and fewer still in her native Castile.

In March, 1503, having been left at Alcalá de Henares by the archduke, on the occasion of his sudden visit to France, she had been delivered of her second son, Ferdinand, and on recovery from her confinement, she had not unnaturally desired to rejoin her husband in Flanders. But Isabella refused her consent; and Joanna reluctantly consented to remain. At length, having received from Philip in the following November, a letter urging her to return, Joanna once more entreated her mother to be permitted to embark. But Isabella not only forbade her to quit

[1] The fact of Ferdinand's proposal to marry La Beltraneja is ridiculed by Dunham, and apparently by Prescott. Yet it is given on the authority not only of Robertson (*Charles V.*, lib. i., chap. i.), and Carbajal, *ubi supra*, but also of Zurita (vi., lib. vi., chap. xiv., col. 1), Mariana (ii., lib. xxviii., chap. xiii.) and Clemencin (*Mem. de la Real Acad. de Hist.*, vi., 19).

[2] *Marquis of Denia to Charles V.*, *Calendar*, etc., supplementary vol., p. 405.

[3] Vives, *de Christiana femina*, chap. iv. Hefele, *Vie de Ximenès*, 114 (and also Flores, *Reinas Catolicas*.—H.).

Spain, but caused her to be imprisoned or detained in the castle of Medina del Campo, in charge of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos.[1] Indignant, *tanquam punica leæna*, as Peter Martyr[2] has it, at this restraint, the young archduchess stormed at her attendants, lay and ecclesiastical, and was hardly pacified by a visit from the queen herself. She insisted, moreover, upon a fleet being forthwith prepared at Laredo, in which she embarked on the first of March, 1504, and arrived safely in Flanders, where she resided for the next two years at her husband's court, without suggestion or suspicion of any mental incapacity.

In January, 1505, there was no more evidence of the madness of Joanna than that of any other royal lady in Europe. It was said that she had been violent when Fonseca had shut her up in Medina del Campo. It would have been strange if she had tamely submitted. It was known that she had insisted pretty vigorously and most successfully that she should be allowed to return to her husband. She could hardly have given greater proof of mental and moral vigour. It had been reported that on her return to Flanders, she had had cut off the golden locks of a Flemish beauty of her court who had been too successful a rival in the fickle affections of the archduke. Such conduct was, no doubt, undignified; but it scarcely suggested insanity, nor had so terrible an explanation ever been thought of at her home in Flanders. Whispers indeed had been heard in Spain during the last days of the life of Isabella; and within a few months after the queen's death, the insanity of Joanna had become a matter of faith at the court of Ferdinand.[3]

Yet this courtly fiction was of itself not sufficient to establish the King of Aragon in the government of Castile; and in order to improve his prospects and maintain his position, Ferdinand was impelled to seek an alliance with the power against which the whole policy of Castile and Aragon had been uniformly

[1] Juan Rodrigo Fonseca. This ecclesiastic is so often met with in the history of this reign, under so many different titles, that I have looked up his career and noted date of translations, etc. We first hear of him as Archdeacon of Seville, in which guise he was appointed a member of the first council of the Indies, where he so systematically thwarted Columbus. He was appointed Bishop of Badajoz in 1496; transferred to Cordova in 1499; to Palencia in 1505; and to Burgos in 1514. He died in 1524.

[2] *Ep.*, 268.

[3] Just a year later Philip wrote to a confidential friend . . . *oultre plus, affin d'avoir plus grant coleur d'usurper ledit gouvernement* (Ferdinand) *feist publier et courir la voix partout que ladite royne sa fille est folle, per quoy it devoit gouverner pour elle*, etc., Philip to Jehan de Hesdin, undated, early in 1506, in de Glay, *Négotiations diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche*, tom. i., p. 200.

directed for over a quarter of a century. Louis XII. of France was not only the friend and close ally of Philip of Burgundy, but the archduke's eldest son, Charles of Luxemburg (afterwards Charles V.), had been actually betrothed to his daughter, the Princess Claude of France, by the treaty of Blois, executed on the 22nd of September, 1504. To break off both the marriage and the alliance would be a triumph of diplomacy; not, perhaps, for Spain, or even for Aragon, but certainly for Ferdinand himself. And Ferdinand undertook the negotiations with his usual promptitude, and conducted them with his usual success.

In August, 1505, a new treaty was concluded at Blois, which was afterwards ratified on the 12th of October, of the same year, by which at the price of great concessions as regards the kingdom of Naples, Ferdinand purchased the friendship of France as well as the rupture of all treaties or engagements of every kind between Louis XII. and the Archduke Philip; and he obtained for himself the hand of his own great-niece Germaine de Foix, one of the most buxom beauties of the court of Paris. According to the terms of this treaty[1] Ferdinand was to reimburse Louis for the expenses of the late Neapolitan war, by a payment of 1,000,000 crowns in ten yearly instalments. He was to grant a complete amnesty to the French party in Naples, and to reinstate all the dispossessed Angevin nobles in their forfeited estates; in return for which concessions, Louis ceded to Germaine[2] de Foix all his rights or claims to the kingdom of Naples, to descend to her eldest son, or in the event of her dying without issue of Ferdinand, to revert to the crown of France.

The treaty is always spoken of as foolish, impolitic and disgraceful to Spain. But as Ferdinand had no intention of being bound by any of its provisions; and as it detached France from the cause of Philip, and gave him time to settle with his son-in-law in his own way; as he obtained for himself a beautiful and charming wife, and as he never paid a single crown of the stipulated indemnity, the celebration of the treaty affords no proof of personal or political folly.

Philip was thunderstruck on hearing of this apparently reck-

[1] The usual friar employed by Ferdinand as his envoy on this occasion was Juan de Enguerra, Apostolic Inquisitor of Aragon.

[2] Prescott, strange to say, calls Germaine the sister of Louis XII. (vol. ii., chap. xvii.). She was, of course, niece of the French king, being a daughter of Jean de Foix and sister of Gaston de Foix, afterwards killed at Ravenna fighting against Ferdinand's Spaniards. She was also grand-daughter of Eleanor of Navarre, who had so cruelly murdered Ferdinand's sister at Orthez. See *ante*, chapter xxxviii. See also Lafuente, x., p. 270.

less convention, by which at least his own present and future interests were so gravely compromised. The news moreover was conveyed to him not directly by his father-in-law, but indirectly by Louis XII., who required him to abandon his intention of passing through the French dominions on his way to Spain, as had been previously contemplated and arranged. Even the careless and frivolous nature of the young archduke was impressed by the gravity of the situation; and he determined to do that which he should have done long before—even as soon as the news of Isabella's death had reached him—and to proceed, in company with Queen Joanna, without further delay to Spain.[1]

II.—*Villafafila.*

On the 7th of January, 1506, the Archduke Philip, with his wife Joanna, Queen of Castile, set sail from Flanders on their long-delayed voyage to Spain. The fleet was overtaken by a storm; and the royal travellers were compelled to seek refuge in the harbour of Melcombe in Dorsetshire. The archduke disembarked. A gracious message was soon received from Henry VII., with an invitation to Philip and Joanna to visit him at Windsor. The invitation was gladly accepted; and at Windsor Castle on the 9th of February, 1506, a new alliance was concluded between the King of England and Philip, as titular regent of Castile.[2] Henry created his guest a Knight of the Garter, and accepted

[1] A *modus vivendi* was arrived at towards the end of the year 1505 through the instrumentality of Don John Manuel, which is known as the "Concord of Salamanca," by the terms of which the Government of Castile was to be carried on in the *joint names of Ferdinand, Joanna and Philip; 24th November*, 1505.

[2] One *M. de la Chau* was sent from Flanders to Spain early in 1506 to negotiate an agreement between King Ferdinand and his son-in-law, to the effect "that they be rulers and governors of Castile as stipulated between them" . . . and that the queen "may be put under restraint". *Quirini to the Court of Venice*, dated Falmouth, 30th March, 1506, *Calendar*, etc. (Venetian), No. 872. (For a contemporary account of Philip and Joanna's visit to England, where it is asserted that the treaty was extorted from them, see *Documentos Ineditos*, vol. viii.—H.)

And as to the palace intrigues to maintain the incapacity of Joanna, lest she should assume the royal authority and annul their pensions, see *id.*, No. 873, with an account of an interview between the ambassador and Joanna herself in England, 4th April, 1506. For a woman whose intellect was not "in the eyes of the courtiers" sufficiently strong for such a charge as that of the throne of Castile, she seems to have acquitted herself remarkably well. *Ibid.*, No. 871.

The king in Spain, in gentle and soothing language, prays his son-in-law to come speedily to Spain; he will arrange every difficulty so as to satisfy all parties. Such was the entire result of the mission of de la Chau. *Quirini, ubi supra*, 16th April, 1506, No. 877.

the Golden Fleece of Burgundy for his son the Prince of Wales.[1]

The utmost pains seems to have been taken during this visit to prevent the Princess Katharine from meeting her sister Joanna, lest anything should be said by either princess to disturb the negotiations. Yet of the supposed madness of Joanna there is neither record nor suggestion, not even in that most minute narrative of her visit to Windsor that is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, although her subordination to her husband is abundantly and even painfully apparent. The visit, however, was in every way most successful. The treaties were signed. The weather moderated. Philip and Joanna continued their journey with a fair wind to Spain.

Ferdinand,[2] a bridegroom of six weeks' standing, at once sent messengers to treat with the young sovereigns. But Philip, to his chagrin, was firm; Don John Manuel, to his surprise, proved incorruptible. Nor did either the grace of Martyr, or the vigour of Ximenez avail anything to deter the queen and her husband from asserting and maintaining their rights in Castile.[3] The great territorial nobility had declared themselves for the most part opposed to the pretensions of Ferdinand of Aragon. The Marquis of Astorga and the Count of Benevente went the length of refusing him admission within their cities. It seemed as if the disgraceful surrender of Blois had been made in vain. But it was just when Ferdinand the Catholic appeared to be worsted in intrigue that he was most dangerous. It was just when he seemed humiliated by some temporary check, that he was quietly preparing for permanent victory. Nor did he stand quite alone in the day of trial. Ximenez was true to the Catholic king. Ferdinand and the friar together were more than a match for Castile.

Philip had brought with him a small army of some 5000 or 6000 men from Flanders. In case of war, gentle and simple would have flocked to his standards. Ferdinand was without forces or followers. But his powers of negotiation and intrigue

[1] *Quirini to the Court of Venice*, dated Falmouth, 25th February, 1506. *Calendar of State Papers* (Venetian), vol. i., No. 867.

[2] Ferdinand had met Germaine de Foix at Dueñas, and had married her at Valladolid (18th March, 1506), where he had married Isabella seven-and-thirty years before (19th October, 1469).

[3] Marsollier says (ii., 69) that Philip and Joanna were *reconnus et couronnés à Burgos* soon after their arrival in Castile; long before *Villafafila*, but soon after an interview between Ximenez and Philip at Orense, about the middle of 1506; and that on her arrival early in 1506, their daughter Mary of Austria, afterwards Queen of Hungary, was born in Spain, p. 65.

no man could take from him. He would negotiate. At the little village of Villafafila near Senabria in the wild mountain country to the south-west of Astorga, on the morning of the 27th of June, 1506, Ferdinand with a modest train of attendants, unarmed, and mounted on peaceful mules, "with love in his heart and peace in his hands" embraced his distinguished son-in-law,[1] at the head of his army and the friendly nobles of Castile. Joanna was not present at the meeting. Of her supposed insanity, no hint had been given in the Flemish camp. But Ferdinand showed himself not only affectionate but deferential to her husband. What could the gallant Philip have to fear from so humble an opponent? At Villafafila there was no palace; not even a house, where royal personages might meet in council; and at the request of his father-in-law, Philip accompanied him into the village church.[2] There, in an interview that lasted far into the long afternoon of a summer's day, the fate of Joanna of Spain was decided. Ximenez, the Primate and Grand Chancellor of Castile, stood sentinel at the door, and permitted no man to come within earshot of the sacred council chamber; and at length when the doors were opened, and father and son-in-law walked out in affectionate converse, it was evident to the least experienced observer at the Castilian court, that Ferdinand had won the day.

And yet the spoils of victory would seem to have remained with the archduke. For ere the sun had set on that memorable day, a treaty had been drawn up, signed, and ratified, by which Ferdinand ceded all his claims to the government of Castile "to his most beloved children," and had announced that he would immediately quit the country. He would not even content himself with retirement across the frontier to Aragon. He would do that which he had never yet done during his fifty-four years of life and government. He would leave the Peninsula and sail across the sea to his distant capital at Naples. It was prodigious.[3]

Yet, as usual on such occasions, the secret treaty which was signed on the same day was more important by far than that

[1] *Calendar*, etc., supplementary vol., Introduction, p. 35.

[2] Lafuente has it, in a hermitage or chapel of the farmstead of el Ramesal, close to the village of Senabria, on the confines of Leon, Portugal and Gallicia, *Hist.*, etc., x., pp. 277-8.

[3] It was clear that Ferdinand, who had not seen his daughter for the last two years and a half, had persuaded Philip, who had lived in daily intercourse with her, that he was mistaken in denying her insanity! *Calendar*, sup. vol., p. 36.

which was published abroad. For by this subsidiary convention between Philip and Ferdinand, it was recited that as "Joanna refused under any circumstances to occupy herself with the affairs of the kingdom," the same should therefore be administered by Philip alone;[1] and the high contracting parties bound themselves to interfere, if necessary, with their united forces *to prevent Joanna or her adherents* from taking any part in the government of Castile. It must be admitted that if Ferdinand was a detestable father, Philip was a very sorry husband.

But neither the open treaty nor yet the secret treaty was sufficient for Ferdinand the Catholic. Within an hour after he had solemnly sworn "upon the cross, and the four holy gospels, placed upon the altar, that he would guard and fulfil" all the articles of the second or secret treaty, he executed a third and still more secret instrument in the shape of a formal documentary declaration, before Miguel Perez Almazan—who was not only his own private secretary, and who in that capacity had witnessed his signature to both the treaties, but who was also an apostolic Roman notary—that "unarmed, and attended by only a few servants, he had fallen into the hands of his son-in-law, who had been at the head of a great armed force, and who was keeping prisoner his daughter, the lawful Queen of Castile;" and that thus and therefore he solemnly protested against the validity of both the treaties of that day's date, as having been imposed upon him under duress, and declared that he did not consent "that his daughter should be deprived of her liberty nor of her rights as hereditary queen of the kingdom!"[2]

Having thus prepared for all possible contingencies, the King of Aragon took leave of his beloved son, and set out on his journey to Naples.[3] But he left behind him at the court of Philip a certain Mosen Luis Ferrer, one of his gentlemen of the bedchamber, a devoted subject of Aragon, and a willing and obedient instrument in the hands of his sovereign.[4]

[1] "On account of her infirmities and sufferings, which decency forbids to be related." *Calendar*, supplementary vol., pp. 78-85, where both treaties and the *Renunciacion* will be found copied and translated in full.

[2] *Calendar*, etc., sup. vol., pp. 36 and 81. Asi juramos á Dios nuestro Señor y á la Cruz y á os Santos quatro Evangelios, con nuestras manos corporalmente puestas sobre su Ara, de lo guardar y cumplir.

[3] Ferdinand neither saw, nor sought to see, his own daughter, whose liberty he was bartering away. Baudier, *Vie de Ximenes*, 224.

[4] The written instructions given to this gentleman will be found in the *Papiers d'Etat du Cardinal Grandvelle*, vol. i., p. 48 *et seq.* The secret *vivâ voce* addition would be far more interesting.

CHAPTER LVI.

PHILIP I. OF CASTILE.

(1506.)

In July, 1506, the estates were convened at Valladolid, and an attempt was made by Ximenez and Philip to induce the Cortes to declare that the mind of Joanna was deranged.[1] The Commons of Castile, however, had not yet sunk so low. The attempt failed, and the usual oaths of allegiance were tendered to Joanna as "Queen Proprietress of the kingdom of Castile"; to Philip as her husband and consort; and to Prince Charles as heir-apparent to the crown, 12th July, 1506.[2]

The brief reign, as it is usually reckoned, of Philip I. of Castile, was in truth but an incident in the reign of his wife, recognised, in spite of his earnest endeavours, as queen in her own right. That Philip was able, thanks to the extravagant affection of Joanna, and his own unscrupulous assumption of power, to bear rule in Castile for two months of his unworthy life, is scarcely a reason for numbering him among the true Kings of Castile. That Ximenez should have not only permitted but assisted the Fleming to reign in Spain, and to ill-treat his queen and consort in her own dominions, is a matter which has perplexed all his admirers and apologists; but it is entirely consistent with his foreknowledge of the young prince's doom. One act of vigour marks the brief reign of Philip I., and it was

[1] Hefele, 377; Lafuente, x., 301. For a list of the eighteen cities *que tienen voz en Cortes* in 1506, see *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., vol. xiv., p. 296. (Anciently forty-eight cities had been represented, but at this time only eighteen, including Granada, recently added, sent deputies. For the composition of the Cortes and the towns represented, see also *Spain: its Greatness and Decay.*—H.)

Il est certain que Ximenes appuya le roi Philippe dans ses efforts pour faire déclarer par le cortes que sa femme était incapable de gouverner. Gomez, 992; Zurita, vi., 7 (11); Mariana, xxviii., c. xxii., 323; Hefele, 227-8.

[2] The original capitulation between Ferdinand and Philip, dated 27th-28th June, 1506, is printed in vol. xiv. of *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., pp. 320-331.

one that by no means commanded the approbation of the great Churchman who assisted or permitted him to rule over Castile.

To understand the position we must turn back for a moment to consider the progress and proceedings of the Holy Office in the Peninsula. The country being now at length purged of Jews and Moslems, and enriched with the spoils of the exiles, the inquisitors, apostolic and royal, deprived of their accustomed quarry, were fain to turn their attention to the spiritual and general shortcomings of the Christian population of Spain. The Holy Office was at least never wanting in courage; and the first victim that was selected for this third crusade, was no less a man than Ferdinand de Talavera, Archbishop of Granada, and sometime keeper of the conscience of the Catholic queen. Talavera had not been sufficiently active in the matter of vexing the Infidel. He had set himself somewhat late in life to acquire the Arabic language. And he had caused the Gospels, the Liturgy, and even the Catechism to be translated into the language of the people. He had encouraged peace and friendly communication between Moor and Christian. He had sought rather to convert than to harry the Moors in his arch-diocese. He had never hungered after their possessions. He had even pitied their misfortunes. And his true piety, combined with this unaccustomed Christian clemency, had made him not only respected but beloved by the Moslems as well as by all charitable Christians. But by Ximenez and Deza his liberality was by no means appreciated; and within one year of the death of the queen, he was cited to appear before the Inquisition (Jan., 1506). The step was almost too scandalous even for his age and country, and Julius II. avoked the cause to Rome, where, after three years' suspense, the good bishop was formally acquitted of all the charges that had been brought against him.[1] Yet various members of his family who had been arrested during the progress of his trial on various pretexts, had been subjected to grievous penalties, and Talavera himself died a few weeks after his acquittal.[2] The Holy Office can scarcely be said to have been worsted in the encounter.

Yet another distinguished friend of Isabella was made to feel the loss of her patronage. Antonio de Lebrija, the scholar of whom Spain is so justly proud, and one of the editors of the

[1] Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, p. 377.
[2] Peter Martyr, *Ep.*, 31st May, 1507.

Polyglot Bible, was accused of tampering with the Vulgate in the course of that great work. His papers were seized and rifled, and it was only due to the somewhat tardy protection of Cardinal Ximenez himself, on the retirement of Deza, that the greatest scholar then living in Spain escaped from the clutches of the Dominicans.[1]

Meanwhile in the city of Cordova, less distinguished victims were made to feel the power of the ecclesiastical tribunals. Lucero, Provincial Grand Inquisitor, carried on the persecution with the most reckless and savage ferocity. The citizens at length rebelled. Gentle and simple turned upon their oppressors, and the enormities of the inquisitor were brought to the notice of Philip, some days after the recognition of his sovereign rights in Castile; and Philip, after due deliberation, not only dismissed Lucero, but suspended Deza, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, from the exercise of his tremendous functions, and ordered him to retire to his archbishopric of Seville.[2]

It is not necessary to suppose that the archduke's death was hastened by this impious interference with the Holy Office,[3] though Zurita is of a contrary opinion; but his end was not long delayed; and Deza and Lucero were able to return from their temporary seclusion, to continue their good work without opposition or annoyance, until the Cordovans rose in insurrection against their oppression and cruelty, pulled down the Council Chamber of the Holy Office, hunted Lucero out of the town, and demanded—not the life, but the removal of the inquisitors. The boon having been refused, the Andalusians, under the Marquis of Priego, assumed a more menacing attitude, and peace was only restored by the interference of Ferdinand, who desired Deza to content himself with the archbishopric of Seville, rewarded Lucero, whose enormities have not found one single apologist of repute, with the bishopric of Almeria, and

[1] Llorente, i., x., art. 13; Hefele, 382. (Ximenez's intervention in favour of Lebrija was doubtles effected by the bold remonstrance of the great scholar in his *Apologia:* "What are you doing great Cardinal in your high seat of government?" etc.—H.)

[2] Zurita, lib. vii., 11. Este proceder, says Lafuente (x., 303), *pareció* una falta imperdonable de respeto al Santo Oficio, y le perjudicó para con las gentes fanaticas de la nacion.

Hefele judiciously says nothing whatever upon the subject, and assigns a false date to the persecution of Talavera, *op. cit.*, 377.

[3] Though Zurita suggests it, *Anales de Aragon*, lib. vii., 11, see the last sentence of the chapter beginning "*asi se atribuyo comunmente al Juyzio secreto de Dios*". . . .

appointed Cardinal Ximenez de Cisneros, to be Grand Inquisitor of Castile.[1]

Whatever may have been the precise nature of the secret instructions conveyed to Mosen Ferrer, the gentleman of the bedchamber performed his task with punctuality and dispatch; and his royal master Ferdinand of Aragon, on entering the harbour of Genoa, three weeks after he had sailed from Barcelona, on his way to Naples, was gratified, if not greatly surprised, by the news of the sudden death of his rival at Burgos, on the 25th of September, 1506.[2] A chill after undue exertion was said to have been the cause of death.[3] That the "herbs" so well known to royal Aragon had been discreetly administered, few men doubted, or will doubt. How far the secret may have been entrusted to Ximenez, no man may ever be expected to know. But the primate at least played his part to perfection in the great tragi-comedy of government. On the day of Philip's death he summoned the principal nobles to meet in the palace; and a provisional Council of Regency was appointed to carry on the affairs of the kingdom in the absence

[1] By edict of 18th May, 1507. The Grand Inquisitorship of Castile was, at this time, separated from that of Aragon—Deza had been Grand Inquisitor of Spain—and Juan Enguerra was appointed to the Aragonese office. Lucero was actually imprisoned for a short time at Burgos, pending a trial or inquiry undertaken by Cardinal Ximenez. But, as might be supposed, no judgment was pronounced against him; and on the 9th of July, 1508, he was solemnly declared acquitted of all charges brought against him by wicked and perjured men. Llorente, i., chap. x., art. 4.

[2] The general opinion was that he had been poisoned; although two physicians declared that such was not the fact. But what were such declarations worth? The physicians had not even had time to examine the case, as the bowels of the deceased were buried a few hours after his death. The accusations were not only general and positive, but were publicly made, whilst the officers of the law did not dare to call to account those who made them, for fear the truth of this "delicate case" might come to light. *Calendar*, supplementary volume, etc., p. 37. See also the case of Lopez de Araoz, of Oñate, referred to in a letter of the Alcaldes de Crimen to Charles V., 3rd February, 1517, referred to by Bergenroth, *Calendar*, *ubi supra*.

[3] There is a *particular Cronica del Catolico y sobre illustre Rey Don Phelippe Primero*, etc., by D. Lorenzo de Padilla, written for Charles V., and of little critical value, printed in vol. viii. of the *Documentos Ineditos*, etc., pp. 1-267, and a number of Philip's letters, preserved at Simancas, are added in the same volume.

The most interesting document that is reproduced, however, is perhaps the *Carta* or report of Doctor Parra, upon the death of Philip, written from Valladolid to Ferdinand the Catholic [*ibid.*, pp. 394, 397], dated apparently, 11th October, 1506. After a full account of the strange course which the supposed fever had run, the physician records that both the Flemings and the Castilians asserted that the king had been poisoned. As to which he can find nothing more decided to say—writing as he was to Ferdinand himself—than that *no le vi yo señales de tal cosa*.

of Ferdinand. No mention was made of Joanna, so lately proclaimed Queen Proprietress of Castile.[1]

Of the skill and vigour with which Ximenez defended the cause of the absent Ferdinand, more particularly against Don John Manuel, who sought to make good the claims of the Emperor Maximilian, as the father of Philip, to the Regency; and of his intimidation of the Cortes by the help of the members of the three great military orders—devoted to their grand master, Ferdinand—we may read in every contemporary record.[2]

The queen was greatly shocked, as might have been supposed, at the sudden death of the brilliant young husband, on whom she doted with all the strength of her affections. She had watched by the bed-side of her dying lord with unremitting tenderness. She had refused, it was said, for some time to believe or realise that he was actually dead; and the excess of her grief was, perhaps, a fairly reasonable excuse for not immediately troubling her with affairs of State.

Thus the queen was left to her sorrow; the Cortes was summoned by the Provisional Council, and a dutiful message was despatched by Ximenez to Ferdinand, praying him that he would at once return and rule over his loving subjects. Bergenroth is at least mistaken in supposing that Joanna was an actual prisoner from the time of her husband's death, although she was no doubt treated by Ximenez as a nullity or a nuisance, as far as the administration was concerned. Yet she seems to have been so far free, as to have been permitted to move about within a narrow area, and closely watched, from one little country town to another.

The condition of Joanna was rendered the more lamentable in that she was left on her husband's death in a state of pregnancy, and on the 14th of the following January (1507) she was safely delivered of a girl, who received the name of Katharine, and who was for many long years to share her mother's imprisonment, until at length she was permitted to marry the King of Portugal.

Ximenez, meanwhile, was governing boldly and successfully at Valladolid, surrounded by all the grandees of the kingdom who were impelled or could be induced by any reason or any interest to support the cause of the absent Ferdinand. The

[1] Prescott says *the day before;* it is quite probable that it was so.

[2] See Marsollier, *Vie de Ximenes*, vol. ii., pp. 94, 109.

noblest of the Castilian grandees was at the time far away, acting as Viceroy of Naples. The greatest man in Spain was Ximenez de Cisneros, and his greatness gained the day. A sufficient number of friendly magnates were attracted to his viceregal court. Joanna was suffered to wander, under trusty superintendence, about the country.

But the nobles of Castile were not the only persons whose presence was required by Ximenez; he summoned from Venice the celebrated commander Vianelli, and entrusted him with the command of 1000 picked soldiers, who held themselves at the orders of the primate,[1] and enabled him to defy the divided and disaffected nobles, and to hold the kingdom for his master Ferdinand. On the death of Philip, and until the return of Ferdinand from Italy, there was one danger that menaced Castile, and that was anarchy. And it will ever be one of the greatest merits of Ximenez that during the trying times from September, 1507, to July, 1508, he steered the ship of state safe amid all the rocks and shoals by which she was surrounded. He may have been arbitrary in his government, unconstitutional in his administration; he may have favoured the Inquisition, disregarded the nobles, and bullied the queen, but at least he governed Castile. And when, on the 20th of July, Ferdinand set his foot on Spanish soil at Valencia, he had nothing to do but to accept the splendid position that had been prepared for him by Ximenez, in defiance of all laws, treaties, oaths, proclamations and rights. Nor for three years after his assumption of absolute power did either the king or his great minister judge it necessary even to go through the form of convoking the Cortes, to recognise rather than to approve that which had been so superbly accomplished.

Joanna in the meanwhile, wholly possessed by her grief, had travelled with her husband's funeral cortege as far as Tordesillas on the way from Burgos to Granada, where Philip's remains were destined to repose by the side of Isabella the Catholic. The vault by the Darro, it was said, was not yet prepared for the prince. The prison by the Duero awaited the queen. It was not, indeed, until February, 1509, that Joanna was permanently incarcerated in the fortress of Tordesillas. But Ximenez, who had hardly been restrained by the Commons from pronouncing her doom in the lifetime of her husband, was not likely to have been over-scrupulous in subordinating

[1] Marsollier, ii., 113-115.

her interests to those of his master Ferdinand, when he was absolute master of the situation. And Ferdinand, after his return to assume the reins of government from the hands of the cardinal, did not, even dissembler as he was, make a pretence of considering the rights or interests of his daughter. As long, indeed, as there was any chance of getting rid of her by marrying her to Henry VII. of England, she was allowed a nominal freedom; but on the death of that king the appearance of liberty was no longer maintained, and the prison doors closed upon her for ever.[1]

[1] The general concensus of contemporary evidence, however, leads to the conclusion that, although Juana may have been only hysterical before her husband's death, she was certainly mad immediately after it. If it is permissible to draw inferences from subsequent facts, the gloomy mysticism of her descendants, from her son and grandson down to her great-great-great-grandson, the idiot Charles II., certainly strengthens the idea that the daughter of an hysterical mother and the ancestress of a long line of neurotics was herself mad.—H.

CHAPTER LVII.

JUANA LA LOCA.

(1506—1555.)

I.—*Las Cuentas del Gran Capitan.*

Ferdinand had set out on his journey from Spain to Naples exactly three weeks before the death of his rival, and leaving Barcelona on the 4th of September, he arrived in the harbour of Genoa on the 20th of the same month. It was the first time in his long reign that he had quitted the Peninsula. But his voyage was suggested by powerful considerations of state.

Gonsalvo de Cordova, who was still acting as Viceroy of Naples, had, according to the king's commands, duly proclaimed the Treaty of Blois, and had granted an amnesty to the Angevin lords; but he had not yet restored to them their estates, which had indeed been bestowed upon his own followers and allies. He had further received instructions from Ferdinand to disband his army, and to return to Spain, in order, it was said, that he might receive at the king's hands, the Grand Mastership of Santiago, the noblest office that could be conferred upon a subject in Castile, and which at the time was actually enjoyed by the king himself.

Ferdinand the Catholic, as has more than once been remarked, was no lover of war or battles, and after the fall of Granada he at once and for ever assumed the position of a modern rather than of a mediæval sovereign, in that, not from any lack of personal courage, but from motives of prudence or policy, he sent his armies to fight abroad under the leadership of a commander-in-chief, while he remained at home to negotiate with foreign powers, without relaxing his personal grasp upon the administration of his country. In the wars of Granada the situation had been entirely different. Both king and queen found their place at the head of their armies, and contributed

powerfully by their personal encouragement to the ultimate success of their arms. Yet Granada had not been conquered by battle, or even by individual military prowess, but by the perseverance and determination of Isabella, by the union of the Castilian nobles under the influence of the queen, and by the disintegration of the Moslem commonwealth.

At the present time the king was not only at once jealous and suspicious of Gonsalvo de Cordova, but he was anxious to put an end to the expense of maintaining a standing army in Italy; and if his instructions to his brilliant viceroy were calculated at once to wound the feelings of the *Great Captain* and to provoke the indignation of his troops, those instructions, as far as the army was concerned, were completely in accordance with the temper of Ferdinand's disposition and policy. The recall of Gonsalvo was no less characteristic and far less worthy of the sovereign; but it would no doubt have been equally judicious, had Gonsalvo been such a one as Ferdinand himself. As it was, the viceroy hesitated, for the moment, to obey.

Whether it was that the splendid terms offered to him by the Pope, the Emperor, and the Archduke Philip, now King of Castile, induced him to waver in his loyalty to Ferdinand, or whether the uncertain and critical state of affairs in France and Italy, as well as in Spain, induced him to retain his position as viceroy, even at the risk of offending his suspicious sovereign, it is hard to say. It seems ungenerous to doubt the loyalty of the *Great Captain*, who had so long been true to his allegiance through so many trying circumstances, and it can only be the extreme probability that any other commander of that age, similarly situated, would have yielded to the temptation of paying his mean and ungrateful sovereign in his own coin, that has led to the supposition that Gonsalvo intended to betray his trust.

But whatever may have been the cause or the extent of his hesitation, he at length decided to obey the king's commands, and he made preparations for the despatch of the greater part of his army to Spain, and his own return or retirement.[1]

Having at length set in order the affairs of the kingdom, as far as possible, before his departure, he set sail from Gaeta on his homeward voyage, and, by a strange coincidence, arrived at Genoa on the same day as his royal master, who had progressed

[1] The letter written by Gonsalvo to Ferdinand, and dated 2nd of July, 1506, on hearing of this project, is still in existence, and is printed by Lafuente, tom. x., pp. 322, 323. It is a touching and noble composition, but it is hardly likely to have made any impression upon the heart of Ferdinand of Aragon.

thus far on his journey to Naples. Reassured by Gonsalvo's submission, Ferdinand received him with all outward respect and honour; and with consummate judgment desired that he would turn back and accompany his sovereign on his visit to Naples. Nor did the news of Philip's death, which reached him at Genoa, induce him to make any change in his deeply-laid plans. The visit, indeed, was a splendid success. Happy memories of Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, the best, perhaps, of all the Kings of Naples, had been revived and strengthened by the good government of Gonsalvo de Cordova, without doubt the best of all foreign viceroys in Italy; and the rule of Aragon was highly esteemed at Naples.

The king and his great captain arrived together, and the popularity of the governor contributed largely to the enthusiasm that was displayed at the approach of the sovereign. It was just fifty years since Alfonso V. had died at Naples; and nothing could exceed the warmth and splendour of the welcome that was accorded to his nephew. A *Te Deum* was sung in honour of Ferdinand, as it had been sung no less than seven times during the last eight years, in honour of the accession of seven sovereigns to the throne of Naples—Ferdinand I., Alfonso II., Ferdinand II., Charles VIII., Frederick III., Louis XII., and Ferdinand of Aragon.

A general parliament of the kingdom was soon after summoned, and Ferdinand had the satisfaction of evading the recent treaty with France, by causing his daughter Joanna to be proclaimed sole heiress to the crown of Naples, making no mention of his wife, with whom his marriage had been negotiated and solemnised only on the distinct understanding that the Neapolitan succession was to be settled upon her issue. He had less hesitation in carrying out the other clauses of the Treaty of Blois, relating to the restitution of the confiscated property of the Angevin nobles, inasmuch as they opened a door for further intrigue and double injustice; for, while the claims of many of the French lords were disallowed on frivolous pretexts, and very few of them obtained full restitution of their confiscated possessions, many of the bravest and most distinguished soldiers in the Spanish army, who have been rewarded by large grants of territory taken from the Angevin nobles, were dispossessed, without any compensation whatever, for the loss of what they had so fairly won, in fighting for the cause of their mean and ungrateful sovereign. Pedro de Paz, Leyva, Rojas and many others, including the chivalrous and almost heroic Paredes, were

thus despoiled; and it is said that the last, indignant at such unworthy treatment, abruptly quitted the Spanish service, and found no better way of repairing his broken fortunes than in the career of a corsair in the Levant.

After many months thus spent at Naples, King Ferdinand judged that the time had come for his prudent return to Castile; and ere he started homewards, he sent on before him to the ever-loyal Ximenez the Brief which raised him to the purple, dated as of the 17th of May, 1507. No living ecclesiastic had so fully earned a seat among the princes of his Church. Yet the Brief, if it was signed by the Pope of Rome, was dictated by the King of Aragon. The scarlet hat was the reward, not of the administration of Toledo or the learning of Alcalá, but of the bold and subtle diplomacy of Villafafila.[1]

But if Ferdinand judged it expedient to maintain the friendliest relations with the Regent of Spain, he had in no wise changed his determination as regards the Viceroy of Naples. Nor had he altered in any respect his sentiments as to Gonsalvo de Cordova, whose generosity, whose independence, and whose nobility of character must have rendered him even more distasteful to Ferdinand, than Ferdinand was to him. Nor could any representations by the Neapolitan nobility, nor even the splendid loyalty of Gonsalvo himself, induce the king to abandon his sinister intentions.[2] Far otherwise, the meanness of his nature, and his jealousy of a faithful servant, whose devotion he was incapable even of understanding, led him to give ear to the whispered slander that ever waits on success, and to accuse the *Great Captain*—the man who had added a new kingdom to his dominions—of the embezzlement or malversation of public money.

If Gonsalvo de Cordova was loyal, he was never servile: he promptly accepted the ignoble challenge, asking merely the royal permission to produce his own accounts; and he took the first opportunity of public audience to appear at court, and read aloud the statement of his public expenditure. The first item

[1] Within three months the cardinal was raised to the more active office of Grand Inquisitor of Spain. The title of "Cardinal of Spain" had been enjoyed by his predecessor Mendoza, and was adopted by Ximenez.

[2] Gonsalvo was tempted with magnificent offers from the Emperor, the Archduke Philip, the cities of Venice and Florence, from many of the magnates of Naples, and even from Pope Julius II., to throw off his allegiance to Ferdinand. But, faithful among the faithless, he remained true to his allegiance. The Pope was so much chagrined at his refusal, that he is said to have attempted to poison him. Zurita, *Anales*, vi., ch. xi.; Lafuente, x., 321.

was 200,763 ducats and 9 reals to friars, nuns and mendicants, to offer up prayers for the success of his Majesty's arms. The next item was, 700,494 ducats and 10 reals to spies. Ferdinand, who had never sent Gonsalvo even money enough to provide for the daily pay of the soldiers during his long struggle with the French in Naples, was glad to turn the matter into a jest, and abandon so unhappy an audit. The incident must have made a considerable impression at the time, as the phrase *Las Cuentas del Gran Capitan* has passed into the language of Castile, and is still used in Spain as a proverbial expression by thousands who may know nothing whatever of its true origin.[1]

But neither jests nor justice could turn Ferdinand from the main object of his voyage to Naples, the removal of the *Great Captain* from his high command ; although as long as he remained in Italy, he pretended that Gonsalvo's return to Spain was in no wise in the nature of a recall, but rather the occasion for new and more splendid honours. He accordingly appointed Prosper Colonna Grand Constable of the kingdom of Naples, and having named his own nephew, the Count of Ribagorza, titular viceroy during the *temporary* absence of Gonsalvo, he set out on his return to Castile. The magnificent and touching farewell accorded by the sympathetic and keen-sighted Neapolitans to the fallen general was more flattering by far than the more usual adulation of the victors and the princes of the hour. But it was by no means pleasing to Ferdinand, who was still more chagrined at the honour that was paid to the *Great Captain* on their arrival at Savona, where Ferdinand with his beautiful Queen Germaine was received by the King of France with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and where, at the special request of Louis XII., Gonsalvo de Cordova supped at the same table as the kings and queens, a favour in the case of a subject, actually unprecedented at the court of France or of Spain.[2]

[1] With regard to the book of the *Cuentas del Gran Capitan*, preserved in the National Artillery Museum at Madrid, see Lafuente, x., pp. 329, 330. The judicious Spaniard takes Prescott to task, on the same page, for his simplicity in supposing that Ferdinand ever had any intention of fulfilling his promise or offer to Gonsalvo to invest him with the Grand Mastership of Santiago. "*El rey*," says he, "*usó en esto de artificio por traer el Gran Capitan consigo.*"

[2] Guicciardini, iv., 77, 78. *The League of Cambrai* was the result of these negotiations. (It is fair to say that an explanation of Ferdinand's treatment of Gonsalvo de Cordova may be found in the fact that the latter owed no allegiance now to the King of Aragon. The retention of Naples and Sicily, and the intervention generally in Italian affairs, were objects which did not intimately concern Castile, but were vital to the traditional policy of Aragon ; and Ferdinand might well consider that in future such a policy would be safer in the hands of an

II.—*Joanna at Tordesillas.*

At length king and captain set sail for the last time from Italy, and steered a straight course for Spain; Gonsalvo to retire distrusting and distrusted by his old master; Ferdinand to find himself raised to a pitch of power, greater by far than anything that he had yet enjoyed. Isabella was dead. Philip was dead. Joanna was under restraint, if not yet actually under lock and key. Charles was barely seven years old. Maximilian was at best a very distant rival. A Cortes indeed had assembled at Burgos. But it had not shown itself quite as amenable as Ximenez desired, and it had been unceremoniously dissolved. The way to supreme power lay open in Castile.

On the death of Philip, Joanna had shut herself up, had refused to transact any business, and had abandoned herself to her grief, a grief that was all the more terrible, inasmuch as it found no vent in the ordinary solace of tears. She suspected, and justly suspected, all who surrounded her; and for Ximenez, who, although he was determined that she should never reign, was anxious to obtain her formal consent to certain acts of state, as a preliminary to his own government, and the recognition of the claims of Ferdinand, she refused to sign a single document. The skill and the determination with which Ximenez carried on the affairs of the kingdom under such trying circumstances, are worthy of the highest admiration. Yet all his efforts were directed to securing a kingdom for Ferdinand rather than to honouring or even humouring his legitimate if unmanageable queen in Castile.[1] Meanwhile Joanna, harassed at once by her grief and by her fears, had removed from Burgos to the little town of Torquemada, where on the 14th of January, 1507, she was safely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Katharine, and who was destined for many years to share her mother's captivity.

On the 20th of July Ferdinand of Aragon arrived at Valencia. Castile, thanks to the course of events so skilfully guided by

Aragonese than of a Castilian. So long as Isabella lived Ferdinand was allowed to use Castilian resources for the furtherance of Aragonese ends, and was constrained also to employ Castilian instruments; but he must have known that with the temper of the Castilian nobles he would not be able to continue to do this indefinitely. The Castilians had done their work; Ferdinand now wished Aragon to reap the benefit.—H.)

[1] For an excellent account of this practical *interregnum*, see Rodriguez Villa, *Juana la loca*, pp. 189-226.

Ximenez, was ready not only to receive, but to welcome him back as absolute ruler of Spain. The Marquis of Villena, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and most of the leading nobles had been won over by the cardinal to his side. The Duke of Najera alone stood aloof, and Don John Manuel, suspicious and suspecting, had prudently betaken himself to Flanders. Joanna, travelling by way of Hornillos, hastened to welcome her father back to Spain. The meeting took place at Tortoles, near the frontier of Aragon, from whence father and daughter passed on together to Santa Maria del Campo, where Ferdinand proceeded to the formal investiture of Ximenez with the scarlet hat, which he had been permitted to bring with him from Rome. More than this, he took advantage of the occurrence of the anniversary of King Philip's death to cause a solemn commemorative service to be performed in the village church, with masses for the repose of his soul. Leaving Queen Joanna, after these formalities, in a species of modified captivity, he proceeded with all his court to Burgos to assume the reins of government. Joanna went to Arcos, where she lived well watched and guarded by Ferdinand of Aragon, and where she was sought in honourable marriage by Henry VII. of England, and was treated for some time as a lady if not as a queen, until negotiations failing and hearts hardening, she was finally immured in the fortress or prison at Tordesillas, in January, 1509.

Of the madness of Queen Joanna previous to the death of her husband, we have at least no trustworthy evidence. She was wayward, unreasonable, jealous, hysterical; no more. That the sudden death of Philip, the object of her extravagant affection, should have powerfully affected her, was but natural. That the treatment to which she had been subjected, first by her husband after the compact at Villafafila, after his death by Ximenez and Ferdinand, and lastly by Charles V., may have ultimately affected her reason, is scarcely remarkable. But the conspiracy to keep her out of her royal inheritance dates, as we have seen, from a time long antecedent to the first whisper of mental derangement.[1]

That Ferdinand did not himself believe in the madness of

[1] The letters of Peter Martyr establish the fact that the first symptoms of lunacy in Joanna were manifested in the month of November, 1503; *Ep.*, 268. See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. cxxxi., p. 347. See also a very curious and most *intelligent* letter written by Joanna as late as 3rd May, 1505, from Brussels, to a certain de Veyre, preserved in the *Archives of Simancas*, printed by Lafuente, tom. x., Appendix, p. 489.

his daughter, even after the death of Philip, is evident from the whole tenour of his correspondence with Henry VII., with Puebla, and with her sister Katharine, upon the subject of her second marriage. It is indeed well-nigh impossible for any man to read the letters and despatches[1] that passed between England and Spain from the death of Philip to the date of the queen's final incarceration in February, 1509, and to retain a belief that Joanna was even then mad, or anything like mad, in the fair acceptation of the term. Joanna was unmanageable, as she had ever been. As she refused to marry Henry VII., and take herself away to distant England, Ferdinand judged, and judged no doubt rightly, that it would be to his interest to keep her shut up at Tordesillas; and as she was neither strong enough to break out of prison, nor weak enough to die in captivity, at Tordesillas she continued to remain, until at length her spirit was broken, and the communion with her chains made her what she was during the long reign of her Imperial son.

But Henry VII. was by no means the only suitor for the hand of Joanna. The Count de Foix pretended, but pretended in vain. Nor does he appear to have been the only other candidate for the honour of an alliance with the Queen of Castile. But the last thing that Ferdinand would have desired was that Joanna should marry a husband who might wish to reside in Spain: and thus de Foix's pretensions were promptly rejected. Ferdinand would have been glad, no doubt, to have her removed to England, where she would have been unlikely, and probably unwilling, to trouble him. But on the whole, perhaps, it was simpler to keep her at Tordesillas. There at least she would be

[1] See for instance, *Puebla to Ferdinand*, dated London, 15th of April, 1507. De Puebla writes: "As to the marriage of the Queen of Castile, the King of England and the few councillors who are initiated in the matter approve fully of his discreet manner of proceeding. There is no king in the world who would make so good a husband to the Queen of Castile as the King of England, whether she be sane or insane. Think she would soon recover her reason when wedded to such a husband as Henry; King Ferdinand would at all events be sure to retain the regency of Castile." *Ferdinand to Puebla*, 19th of May, 1567: "If the Queen of Castile marries, her husband shall be the King of England and no other person". *Ferdinand to de Puebla*, 8th of June, 1507: "Will do his utmost to persuade the Queen of Castile to marry the King of England". Katharine, Princess of Wales, writing to her father, on the 17th of July, 1507, says, "that she has heard from France that a marriage was in contemplation between the Count de Foix and her sister". And most remarkable of all, is the letter of proposal of marriage written by Katharine on behalf of her father-in-law, Henry VII., to her sister Joanna, as the marriageable and certainly not the mad Queen of Castile, as late as 25th October, 1507. *Calendar*, etc., pp. 439, 441. See also in the same volume of the *Calendar*, the letters of March, 1507 (p. 88); June, 1507 (p. 109); December, 1507 (p. 137).

safe.[1] And in the fortress of Tordesillas, Joanna of Castile lay immured for forty-six years of her unhappy life, as completely debarred from all connection with the outer world as though she too had reposed in her grave. Mosen Ferrer, who had so successfully represented her father at the court of her dead husband, was fitly chosen as her jailor, and although her death was not desired by any of her friends or relations, his treatment of his royal prisoner was harsh to the point of absolute cruelty.[2]

The old palace of Tordesillas was a building of moderate size, overlooking the river Douro, or Duero, and the sandy plains beyond. It was fortified and defended by a strong tower, and consisted of a large room or hall, with a number of other rooms adjoining, small, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated. It was occupied not only by Joanna and her little daughter Katharine, but by the women who watched her day and night, under the direction of her jailor. The windows of the great hall looked on to the river, but the queen was not allowed to remain in that apartment, still less was she at liberty to look out of the windows, lest she might be seen by some passer-by, and should call him to her assistance; and except upon extraordinary occasions, when she was more strictly watched, she was forced to live in a back room without windows, and deprived of all light but that of a sixteenth century candle.[3]

[1] As to the lack of evidence of the queen's insanity even at the end of her life, and the number of early writers whose silence at least suggests that her mind was never deranged, see *Calendar*, etc., supplementary volume, Introduction, p. xxvi., with the references to Maquereau, Johannes de Los and Sandoval.

See also the now celebrated letter of the Marquis of Denia to Charles V., January, 1522: "If your majesty would *hacer premia*, *i.e.*, apply physical or moral force—the word is of doubtful signification—it would be a good thing; your grandmother (Isabella) served and treated thus the queen widow (Joanna). *Calendar*, etc., supplementary volume, p. 405. Bergenroth's suggestion that *hacer premia* meant to apply torture has called forth a storm of indignation. I do not pretend to be as good a Spanish scholar as most of his critics, and certainly far inferior to Bergenroth himself; yet I find in the great *Dictionary of the Spanish Academy*, the standard authority in all such matters, under PREMIA—*Violencia, opresion, ú tyrania*. (This *premia* used by Isabella to her daughter is probably that referred to by Flores. He says that in 1504 when Philip had left for Flanders, Joanna became unmanageable at Medino del Campo, wandering about and refusing shelter, "upon which the queen, though herself ill, was obliged to go and bring her to reason.—H.)

[2] *Calendar*, sup. vol., p. 41. Mosen Ferrer was suspended on the report of the Bishop of Majorca early in 1516, after the death of Ferdinand "as suspected of endangering the health and life" of Joanna. *Calendar*, supplementary volume, pp. 141-143. The Marquis and Marchioness of Denia were afterwards (15th March, 1518) appointed the queen's principal jailors, with extraordinary powers. See letter of appointment in *Calendar*, sup. vol., p. 153.

[3] *Ibid.*, Introduction, pp. xliv.-xlvi., and pp. 400-406.

That such treatment should tend to weaken the most robust intellect, can scarcely be controverted; and that the queen's bodily health should not have given way amid such dreary and unwholesome surroundings is perhaps even more remarkable. Nor can it be entirely accounted for by the fact that her captors did not even allow her to have the services of a physician.[1] She was not permitted to hear the news even of the death of her father; and when the presence of her son in Spain could no longer be concealed from her, she was told that he had only undertaken the journey in order to obtain from her father, Ferdinand, some alleviation of the harsh treatment to which she was subjected.[2] Priests, however, there were in plenty; though the queen, who had for a considerable time objected to confess, had not long after her imprisonment refused even to hear Mass.[3] It would, perhaps, have been difficult in contemporary Spain to give a more conclusive proof of insanity.

Joanna would, no doubt, have made a very inefficient queen. The change from the brilliant administration of her mother Isabella would have been in many ways disastrous to Spain. Yet Ximenez might assuredly have ruled for Joanna as he ruled for her father Ferdinand. And it is given to no man to judge how far responsibility, and respect, and sympathy might have strengthened an intellect, which was only extinguished by long years of imprisonment and insult.

Whether Bergenroth or Don Vicente de Lafuente is right about the signification of the word *premia*, no one can read even the little that we are permitted to know about the captivity of Joanna, without seeing that the treatment which she endured in her dungeon at Tordesillas was, for her at least, torture of the most cruel and relentless character.

Expediency no doubt is always attractive, and may even find a justification in certain phases of political life; and it may not unnaturally have seemed as unwise as it would have been distasteful to Ferdinand, with his brilliant foreign policy, and his care for the present and future greatness of Spain, to retire to Saragossa, and hand over Castile, which he had so long and so successfully administered with Isabella, to the uncertain, if

[1] *Calendar*, *ubi supra*, Introduction, p. xlvii., and pp. 182, 183, 200.

[2] *Calendar*, Introduction, pp. lii., liv., and pp. 154-202.

[3] After the death of Ximenez, it seems that the queen was compelled by threats, if not by the actual employment of personal violence, to be present at the solemn celebration. *Calendar*, *ubi supra*, Introduction, pp. xlix.-li., and pp. 164, 189, and 391-428. But this is beyond the limits of the present volume.

legitimate government of his weak and wayward daughter.[1] Religion, patriotism, policy, every good and noble feeling that might be found in the king's nature, must have combined to lend colour to the self-satisfying suggestion that it would have been not only foolish but wicked for him to neglect his great opportunities.

That he should have been troubled by any consideration of abstract moral rectitude, was assuredly not to be expected by friends or foes. That he should have poisoned his son-in-law, as he may have done, and imprisoned his daughter, as he certainly did, in order that he himself might reign in Castile as well as in Aragon, must have seemed but a small matter to a son of John II., though it may strike the inconsiderate modern reader as a somewhat exaggerated display of what may be called mediæval opportunism.[2]

[1] It must also be recollected that in order to carry out his "brilliant foreign policy," which was purely Aragonese and not Castilian, it was vital for him to ensure, so far as it was possible for him, the material assistance of the larger and richer kingdom. This he could not hope to do if Castile were ruled in Castilian interests alone.—H.

[2] In the *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. i. (1862), and vol. ii. (1868), a great many original documents of the highest interest as to the madness of Queen Joanna will be found; but more than this, a *Supplementary* volume, published in 1868, of some 470 pp., is almost entirely devoted to the question. I have therefore referred but sparingly to these volumes, which I read and re-read before arriving at the conclusions which I have—not, I trust, too confidently—embodied in the foregoing chapter.

CHAPTER LVIII.

THE RETIREMENT OF XIMENEZ.

(1509.)

No one could be supposed to have less sympathy with the fighting bishops of fourteenth century Spain than Ximenez de Cisneros, the ascetic monk, the reforming primate, the founder of universities, the publisher of books; and yet there was something of the old Adam of Alfonso Carrillo, or Alfonso of Saragossa, in the new Cardinal of Spain.

As early as September, 1505, Ximenez had contributed to the cost of an expedition, which he had himself suggested, against the Moors, no longer assailable in Spain, but on the opposite shore of Africa, on the Berber's or Barbary coast, which, with the port and city of Marsalquivir,[1] over against Carthagena, had fallen into the hands of the Castilians;[2] and as soon as the Government of all Spain had been peacefully handed over to Ferdinand, the vigorous prelate, whose zeal and pertinacity made light of his seventy years, proposed himself to head an expedition, partly crusading, partly plundering, against the flourishing city of Oran.

Ferdinand was glad to encourage an enterprise which would occupy the attention of his too powerful chancellor; an expedition of which any advantage would certainly be his, and of which he was asked to share neither the expense nor the responsibility. Yet the army was not suffered to depart without much shuffling and tergiversation. But there was no putting false dice upon Ximenez; and in the early summer of 1509, the

[1] *Marz* or *Merz, al Kebir.* The great harbour.

[2] The *Empresa de Allende*, or expedition against Africa, had occupied the attention of Ferdinand as far back as 1493-4. It was proposed *ganar la costa de los Moros de Oran hasta Zula*, or Sallee. A number of letters relating to this expedition, lists of troops and ships, estimates and plans of operation, with minute or marginal notes by the king's hands, are preserved at Simancas, and have been reprinted in the *Documentos Ineditos*, vol. li., pp. 46-113.

Cardinal Commander-in-Chief, advised by the Italian Vianelli, and accompanied by the Navarrese Pedro Navarro, "the Vauban of the sixteenth century," set sail from Carthagena (16th May), at the head of a small fleet, carrying an army of 14,000 or 15,000 men.

Nor was the primate less successful in the field than he had shown himself in the palace, in the court, and in the library. Taking his place at the head of his army, girt with a sword over his ecclesiastical vestments, and surrounded by an imposing if not a brilliant staff of friars similarly accoutred, he marshalled his troops against the coveted city, and after a spirited harangue to the soldiers in order of battle, he was with difficulty restrained from actually leading the charge against the foe. But if he did not, like Gonsalvo, actually head the stormers, his troops were no less active in their assault. Oran was taken and sacked. No mercy was shown to the vanquished; no respect for age or sex. Four thousand Moslems were cut down in the city. Eight thousand prisoners and half a million of gold ducats attested the Christian zeal of the invaders. The army was gorged with the plunder of an opulent city.[1] No triumph surely could be more complete; and yet there was a spectre at the feast of victory.

The man who served Ferdinand the Catholic could never sleep securely. Columbus, tricked out of the reward of his immense services, had withered and died of chagrin; Gonsalvo, banished to his country farm, had seen a priest preferred to the command of an army; and now Ximenez, at all times the protector of Ferdinand's cause in Castile, the most loyal and devoted of his servants in the moment of supreme danger and difficulty, was at last to feel the touch of the serpent's fang. In the very flush of victory, a letter addressed to his lieutenant Navarro fell into his hands. The letter was from Ferdinand of Aragon; and in it we may read, as was read by the cardinal himself, of the ingratitude, of the perfidy, of the shamelessness of the king whom he had enthroned, and in whose service he was at the moment risking his life and squandering his private treasure.[2]

[1] Ximenez himself is said to have contented himself with a few MSS. He might have had more at Granada in 1499—on easier terms.

[2] The French translation of old Michel Baudier is racy enough, as the following sample will show: "*Empêchez le bonhomme* (*i.e.*, Ximenez) *de repasser sitôt en Espagne. Il faut user sa personne et son argent autant qu'on pourra. Amusez le, si vous pouvez dans Oran, et songez à quelque nouvelle entreprise.* Baudier, *Vie de Ximenes*, p. 263 (ed. 1851). See also Cartas del Cardenal Don Fray Ximenez de Cisneros, dirijidas á D. Diego Lopez de Ayala; edited by D. Pascual Gayangos

Ximenez was not a man to indulge in idle lamentation. He determined to return at once to Spain. Not, indeed, as he had come to Africa, under the convoy of a noble fleet, but in a single unprotected galley; not at the head of an eager army, but attended only by a few domestic African slaves; not as a conqueror, but as a victim.[1] Scorning the royal invitation to the court at Valladolid, he made his peaceful entry into Alcalá, and devoted himself to the most honourable work of his life, the preparation of his magnificent edition of the Holy Scriptures.[2]

The Castilian arms were less successful after the departure of the archbishop. Tripoli, indeed, succumbed to the assault of Navarro, July, 1510; but the Christians sustained a lamentable defeat in the following month (28th August, 1510), at the Island of Gelbes,[3] where Don Garcia de Toledo, a son of the Duke of Alva, and a cousin of Ferdinand, was killed, and over 4000 Spanish troops were cut to pieces by the Moors. The loss of the army was followed by the loss of the fleet,[4] and Pedro Navarro was hardly able to bring the scattered remnant of the Spanish forces ingloriously back to Carthagena.[5]

The martial successes of Ximenez had rendered Ferdinand, as usual, jealously envious of his great minister, and the altered sentiments of the king were promptly appreciated at court. The repayment of a sum of money due by the king to the cardinal in connection with the expedition to Africa was not effected with-

and D. Vicente de Lafuente. Vol. i., Madrid, 1867. The letters range in date from (1) 1st September, 1508, to (129) 27th October, 1517. Vol. ii., edited by D. Vicente de Lafuente, 1875, contains letters to and from the Cardinal's secretaries, 1515-1517.

[1] But in Oran, at least, the great Cardinal long continued to watch over the city that he had won for Castile. His spectre, apparelled as in life, was seen on the battlements for more than a century after he had raised the sacred standard of Toledo against the stronghold of the refugees of Granada.

[2] This was about the time that Ximenez built those country houses near Alcalá where the professors might spend their holidays or *fête* days pleasantly and respectably—*honesté*—Gomez, *De Rebus Gestis*, 1066.

[3] Gerva, or Jerba, near Cabes on the border of modern Tripoli.

[4] Pedro Navarro afterwards went to Italy, and was taken prisoner at Ravenna, fighting in the service of his country. Ferdinand, who, unlike Isabella, was always seeking to get rid of any capable servant, refused to ransom him, so Navarro renounced his allegiance, and claiming his right as a Navarrese subject, was ransomed at the price of 20,000 crowns by Francis I., and enlisted in the service of France. He was afterwards unhappily taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and killed in the Castel Nuovo, by order of Charles V. Brantôme, *Vies*, etc., Disc. 9.

[5] The kings of Tremecen (Tlemcen), Tunis, Fez and Algiers, are said to have offered their nominal submission to Ferdinand in 1511. P. Martyr, *Ep.*, 471. See also Gomez, p. 1049.

out insulting inquiry or Inquisition. A sham bishop of Oran appeared to oust the jurisdiction of Toledo over the newly conquered territory;[1] and finally the king had the effrontery to request Ximenez to vacate the primacy of Spain, that he might promote one of his own bastards, already Archbishop of Saragossa, to that exalted position.

The return of Gonsalvo de Cordova had been required by the king on the pretext of his investiture in Spain with the insignia of the grand mastership of Santiago, a fitting reward for his great services. But as soon as Ferdinand found that his own position was assured in Castile, and that the *Great Captain* was far away from his devoted soldiers and his no less devoted Neapolitans, he not only disregarded his promise with his usual facility of faithlessness, but he took the opportunity of an alleged affront to a royal officer, to deal a blow against the honour of the Aguilars, which gave bitter pain to Gonsalvo, whose nephew, the young Marquis de Priego, in spite of his earnest remonstrances, was sentenced to pay a fine of 20,000,000 maravedis, to surrender all his fortresses to the crown, and to be banished the kingdom. The ancient castle of Montilla, one of the glories of the family of Aguilar, and the birthplace of Gonsalvo de Cordova, was included in the same royal condemnation, and was razed to the ground in December, 1508.[2]

Gonsalvo, ever loyal, yet deeply chagrined, retired to Loja, and endeavoured to forget his sovereign's baseness in the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, in improving his estates, and adjusting the differences of the townspeople, who deferred to his decision in all matters of business with a complete and unhesitating confidence. He also took a great interest in the condition of the conquered Moors, and did all in his power to mitigate the hardships to which they were subjected in consequence of the infamous *pragmatica* of Seville. His hospitality was unbounded, and his liberality as princely as ever. His home became the

[1] Louis Guillaume, a Franciscan friar, was named bishop *in partibus*, with the title of *Auriensis*. Hefele, *Vie*, 427-8.

[2] The Marquis of Priego was peculiarly obnoxious to Ferdinand, inasmuch as he had been one of the chief accusers of the infamous Lucero, and had played a leading part in the opening of the prison of the Inquisition at Cordova; but he was by no means the only one of the grandees who was made to feel the tyranny of the King of Aragon. The Duke of Najera was compelled to give up all his fortresses, *heureux de pouvoir garder sa vie et son Château de Najera*. Ferreras, viii., 331. The Duke of Medina Sidonia, the noble chief of the Guzmans, was despoiled of his possessions, and together with Don Pedro Giron, the eldest son of the Count of Ureña, was glad to make his escape to Portugal (P. Martyr, *Ep.*, 406).

resort of all honest and honourable men in Andalusia, and especially of his old friend and commander, the good Count of Tendilla.

Thus the Great Cardinal in Castile and the Great Captain in Andalusia, exiled each of them from the court of their perjured sovereign, bore silent witness to the jealousy and to the ingratitude of Ferdinand. But in the year 1508 Ferdinand's thoughts were once more turned far away from Spain.

CHAPTER LIX.

A KINGDOM OF ITALY.

(1509—1511.)

The League of Cambray, which was signed on the 10th of December, 1508, between Louis XII., the Emperor Maximilian, and Ferdinand of Aragon, at the instance of the warlike Pope Julius II., was nominally directed against the Turks, but was in reality a coalition for the destruction and partition among the confiscators of the rich State of Venice.[1] If anything was wanted to make this league of public plunderers more corrupt and more odious than it would under any circumstances have been, it was that the kings of France and of Aragon, in order to secure the adhesion of the Medicis, sacrificed their faithful allies, the Pisans, after solemn assurances of protection and support, and actually sold that ancient city to the Florentines, their hereditary enemies, for 100,000 ducats.

But all their bad faith and covetousness was displayed in vain. The perfidious leaguers could not even trust one another; and the success of the French arms at Agnadel, in May, 1509, so seriously alarmed both Julius and Ferdinand, that a second treaty was concluded in October, 1511, when the Pope and the King of Aragon invited the Venetian Republic, for whose destruction they had leagued themselves together with Louis XII. not three years before, to assist them in driving the French out of Italy.

Of the consummate skill with which Ferdinand, from the middle of 1509 to the end of 1511,[2] played off his allies and rivals one against the other, until he had accomplished the

[1] As to the full details of the provisions of the League of Cambray, see *Calendar of State Papers* (Venice) (ed. Rawdon Brown, 1867), Introd., p. 9. The Signory of Florence actually invited the Sultan Bajazet to join the league, and take possession of the Oriental dominions of the Republic, p. 44.

[2] 18th May, 1509, to 13th November, 1511; see *Calendar*, etc. (Spain), vol. ii., p. 28.

central object of his diplomacy in the great confederation against Louis XII., we may read in the history of France and of Italy, of England and of Germany, rather than in the Chronicles of Aragon. For King Ferdinand pulled the strings that moved the puppets, while he remained well-nigh hidden himself. But by the end of 1511 the showman was compelled to make his own appearance upon the stage of European warfare; and Ferdinand was ever less successful as an actor than as an *impresario*. His policy for the past two years had been the formation of a league against his dearly-beloved uncle-in-law, Louis XII., by the aid of his dearly-beloved son-in-law, Henry VIII. Queen Katharine, who had already played the part of ambassador to her English father-in-law, was to make use of her influence over her English husband; and if the queen should refuse to advise King Henry to go to war with France, her confessor was to tell her that she was bound as a good Christian to do so.[1]

To coerce the confessor, Ferdinand applied to the Pope, and to control the Pope he betrayed to him, in secret, the whole scheme of King Louis XII. as regards the plunder of the States of the Church. It is easy to understand what an effect the communication of the French king's plans of spoliation produced upon the excitable and irascible Julius. When he had learnt that he was not only to be robbed of his temporalities, but that he was to be deposed and imprisoned in case he should prove spiritually intractable, he hastened, in spite of his age and his infirmities, to traverse the snow-covered mountains, that he might meet his enemy in the field.[2]

The King of Aragon was a diplomatist who left nothing to chance. He trusted no man. And if no man trusted him, he never deceived himself by supposing that any one was simple enough to do so. No detail, however trifling, was neglected by him in his negotiations. No contingency, however remote, was left out of sight in his intrigues. And however little we may

[1] Queen Katharine behaved during the whole of the quarrel between King Henry and King Ferdinand as became a Queen of England. She loved and revered her father. It certainly made her unhappy to see that he and her husband had become enemies. But when King Ferdinand attempted to make use of her influence over her husband, she refused to serve her father's purpose. Louis Caroz complained in the most bitter terms that neither he nor any other Spaniard could obtain the smallest advantage through her interference. *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., Introd., pp. xxxvii., xcii., and pp. 51, 52.

[2] *Calendar*, etc. (Spain), vol. ii., p. 38. Julius II. was above all things a warrior; and it was rather hitting below the belt to excommunicate the armies against which he led his own temporal forces. He was said by some Italian opponents to be rather *Carnifex* than *Pontifex* maximus.

respect his character, which was perhaps not much worse than that of some of his rivals, we cannot refuse to admire his transcendent skill, his infinite perseverance, his forethought, and his keen appreciation of every shade of political development. A little honesty would have made him a great man; a little generosity would have made him a great king. His policy, moreover, towards the close of his life, is at least worthy of an admiration which has rarely been extended to it. It was a policy which embraced all Europe in its scope; and although it had no direct relation to Spain or the Spanish people, it would be ill to conclude even a brief survey of the history of Spain without referring to the Imperial dreams of the great Spaniard, first of modern diplomatists, and of his early endeavours to solve more than one of those questions that still embarrass the foreign policy of modern states: the establishment of a kingdom of Italy; the alliance between Italy and Germany, to withstand a dreaded power beyond the Danube and the Carpathians; the entanglement of England in a central European league; and the treatment of the Pope of Rome.

The Turks, the mediæval bugbear in the East—for the Middle Ages had also their Eastern question—were at this time rapidly encroaching upon Christian Europe; and it was obviously desirable to form a powerful empire, as a bulwark of Christendom, on the banks of the Danube. The opportunity of founding a great empire in Central Europe actually existed. Ladislaus II., King of Bohemia and of Hungary, had only one son, Louis, who was of so delicate a constitution that no issue could be expected of his marriage. In case he should die without children, his sister, the Princess Anne, was the heiress of both his kingdoms; and if her father could be persuaded to marry her to the heir of the Austrian principalities, Bohemia, Austria and Hungary, thus united with the heritage of the Hapsburgs, would form by no means a contemptible State, which might itself be but the nucleus of a greater and more ambitious empire.

Naples, which had so lately been added to the Aragonese dominions, was still exposed to the attacks of the French, who claimed one half, and were always ready to appropriate to themselves the whole of the kingdom. Naples was separated from France, indeed by a considerable extent of territory in Italy; but the smaller Italian States were too weak to render any serious resistance, and too fickle to be counted upon as friends or as foes by any Spanish sovereign. The best way to render Naples secure was, in the eyes of Ferdinand, the foundation of

a great kingdom in northern Italy, powerful enough to prevent the French from marching their armies to the south.

The formation of such a kingdom moreover would have had results far more important than that of keeping the French out of Naples, important as that was both to Italy and even to Spain, and it would have greatly facilitated a peaceful division of the great Austro-Spanish inheritance between Prince Charles and his brother, the Infante Ferdinand.

If Charles could be provided not only with the kingdom of Spain, but with the possessions of Maximilian and Ladislaus and the Princess Anne, and the empire of Central Europe, his younger brother Ferdinand might content himself with a kingdom to be made up of all the states of Italy, protected against the encroachments of France by Spanish *infantry* and German *landsknechts*, and ready to drive the Turk out of the Mediterranean in support of the Christian empire on the Danube.

The kingdom of Italy thus designed for his younger grandson by the far-seeing Ferdinand of Aragon, was to consist of Genoa, Pavia, Milan and the Venetian territories on the mainland. The country of the Tyrol, being the most southern of the Austrian dominions, could, without sensibly weakening the projected empire, be separated from it and added to the new kingdom in Italy. Thus stretching from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic, and from the Gulf of Spezia to the Lake of Constance, this sixteenth century kingdom of Italy, with the whole power of the holy Roman empire to support it, would have been a splendid endowment for a younger son of the greatest family on earth. There was also a reasonable prospect that it might afterwards be still further enlarged by the addition of Naples, and the smaller Italian states would easily have fallen a prey to their powerful neighbour. But, in addition to all this, Ferdinand thought that he would render a notable service to the Catholic religion and to the peace of Europe if the Church were thoroughly reformed. What Rome herself has lost by Ferdinand's failure, it is not given even to the infallible to know. What the king's reforms were to be, we can only shrewdly surmise ; and although they would most assuredly not have been Protestant, they would with equal certainty have been by no means palatable to the Vatican. For it is reasonably probable that if either Louis XII. or Ferdinand the Catholic had been permitted to carry out their designs, the Pope of Rome would have found himself deprived of his temporal power, and Garibaldi, nay, perchance Luther, would have been forestalled. It was the reforms of Ximenez

that to a large extent prevented Luther in Spain. The reforms of Ferdinand might possibly have prevented him in Italy.

The defensive alliance between England and Spain, however important it may have been at the time that it was made, had become, in little over a year from its execution, no longer of any advantage either to King Ferdinand or to King Henry; since both of them had independently entered into an offensive league against France. The treaty of the 24th of May, 1510, was, therefore, converted into the offensive confederation of the 17th of November, 1511. The pretext for this new alliance was the duty of the contracting parties to defend the Church. The real object of Henry VIII. was the conquest of Aquitaine, with the help of the Catholic king, who had bound himself to deliver to his son-in-law all such places as had formerly belonged to the crown of England, as soon as he should have wrested them from the enemy. The real objects of Ferdinand were, as we have already seen, very far from being the conquest of Aquitaine, or even the defence of the Church, but something far larger and more ambitious; and for the moment his magnificent schemes appeared to be in a fair way towards realisation.

After negotiations, continued for more than eighteen months, he had at last succeeded in forming two great confederations against France; and he was resolved to use his confederates as his instruments to obtain from Louis XII. his consent to the formation of the kingdom of Italy.[1] By way of giving additional force to the new coalition, Julius II., made indignant, as we have seen, by the skilful disclosure of the intentions of Louis XII. as regards the Holy See, dispensed or released the ever-ready Ferdinand from the obligations of the marriage treaty of 1505, by which his Neapolitan dominions were to revert to the French crown on the failure of his issue by Germaine de Foix, and thus gave additional power to the latest coalition against France.

Could the fiery *Giuliano della Rôvere* have been informed of Ferdinand's own scheme for the disposal of the patrimony of St. Peter, and for the reformation of Rome, he would assuredly rather have excommunicated than have dispensed the greatest master of diplomacy in contemporary Europe. But Ferdinand kept his own counsel; and a Spanish army was marched confidently into northern Italy.

If Ferdinand of Aragon had a large mind, he had a very small heart; and his jealousy would not permit of the employment of the greatest soldier in Europe, who awaited but his marching

[1] *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., p. 41.

orders to lead the Spanish troops once more to victory in Italy. In the absence of Gonsalvo de Cordova, the chief command was entrusted to an incompetent courtier, Don Hugo de Cardona, under whose leadership the allied army was well nigh cut to pieces at the memorable battle of Ravenna, on the 11th of April, 1512. The Spanish infantry, under the sturdy Pedro Navarro, fresh from the spoils of Africa, did all that was possible to retrieve the fortunes of the day; and the French victory was dearly purchased by the death of their brilliant young commander, Gaston de Foix.[1] A capable general would have marched on Rome or Naples, and Ferdinand might have found it too late to repair his errors. But the French strategy was as poor as their diplomacy; no advantage whatever was taken of what should have been made a decisive victory, and before the end of the year 1512, they had actually retired beyond the Alps.

The defeat of the allied army at Ravenna, however, had so seriously alarmed Pope Julius, as well as all the Italian allies of the League, that Ferdinand had been reluctantly compelled to give his consent to the nomination of the *Great Captain* to the chief command of an army which was to be immediately raised in Spain, and despatched to Italy from the port of Malaga. Nobles and their retainers, knights and burghers, peasants and adventurers from every part of Spain at once flocked to that port, and enrolled themselves under the banner of the *Great Captain*. No expense was spared by gentle and simple to equip themselves in a manner worthy of their leader; and Gonsalvo, as may be supposed, entered upon his duties in that liberal-handed and large-hearted spirit for which he had always been distinguished. But Ferdinand's fears and jealousy were only aggravated by the popular enthusiasm created by Gonsalvo's appointment, the more so as the number of deserters from his own army to that of the *Great Captain* was so great that Navarre, which was then menaced by the French, was left almost undefended.

[1] See in *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xxv., *Vida del conde Pedro Navarro;* and in tom. lxxix., pp. 233-298, *Relacion de los sucesos de las armas de España en Italia, en los años* 1511 *y* 1512, *con la Jornada de Ravena*. Eighteen thousand soldiers are said to have perished in the great fight at Ravenna, a number positively stupendous, when we consider that in the battles of a few years before, a death roll of a few hundreds was considered enormous. It was largely the Spanish infantry trained by Gonsalvo de Cordova, that introduced real fighting into the wars of Europe. The mercenary troops of the fifteenth century, who fought indifferently on the side of the best paymaster, thought twice before killing or even seriously wounding an opponent, who might have been a few days previously a good companion in arms. *Cf.* Roscoe, *Leo X.*, Bohn's ed., vol. i., pp. 264-5.

Gonsalvo's preparations progressed rapidly; yet not more rapidly than the French disorganisation. No successor had been found for Gaston de Foix; and before the end of the year, 1512, their victorious army having, as it were, melted away, Ferdinand gave orders for the disbanding of his new levies in Andalusia, and for the retirement of the *Great Captain* himself once more to his farm at Loja, separated by well-nigh the entire length of Spain from the theatre of a new war under the shadow of the western Pyrenees.

Gonsalvo, however keen was his disappointment, never forgot his loyalty to the king; and he not only obeyed the royal order, but he urged his indignant troops to take service in the army which Ferdinand was then raising for service against Navarre, under his cousin the Duke of Alva.

With the operations of this army, and the political developments that attended the conquest of Navarre by the Spaniards, I shall deal in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER LX.

THE LAST DAYS OF FERDINAND.

(1515—1516.)

I.—*Annexation of Navarre.*

To follow or examine in every detail the politics of the little kingdom of Navarre during the joint reign of Ferdinand and Isabella would carry us beyond reasonable limits; and it must suffice to say that Queen Eleanor, whose accession to the throne had been purchased at so dreadful a price, had died in 1479, leaving, in addition to many sons and daughters, a grandson, Francis, surnamed Phœbus from his superlative beauty, whose father, Gaston, had been killed in a tournament in 1472, and whose mother was Madeleine of France, a sister of Louis XI. This *François Phébus* was crowned King of Navarre in November, 1482, and poisoned, it was said, by Ferdinand of Aragon, in January, 1483.[1]

Madeleine, the Queen-Dowager, immediately assumed the reins of government, as guardian of her daughter Catherine, who was soon after (1486) married to a neighbouring prince of by no means royal rank, Jean, Seigneur or Sire d'Albret; and Madeleine dying a few months after the marriage, the young couple entered upon their sad and stormy reign almost before they had attained to years of discretion. The continued warfare between the factions of Beaumonts and Agramonts; domestic strife secretly stirred up by Ferdinand of Aragon; unsatisfactory relations with France; and, last of all, the interference of the notorious Cæsar Borgia,[2] who had married a sister of Jean

[1] Lagrèze, p. 256-8. The young prince was passionately fond of music, and was taken off by means of a poisoned flute.

[2] Cæsar Borgia had been imprisoned by Ferdinand and Isabella at Medina del Campo, whence he had escaped into Navarre, where he was killed in a skirmish at Viana, on the 12th of March, 1507, fighting against the Beaumont faction.

d'Albret, combined to render the lives of the young sovereigns troubled and unhappy.

If Ferdinand the Catholic did not or could not resort once more to poison in the development of his policy as regards Navarre, he neither abandoned nor forgot his design upon the little kingdom which lay so perilously near the frontiers, both of Aragon and of Castile. Spain was ill-protected on the side of the Atlantic Ocean. The road from Bayonne by Irun to Vitoria and Bilbao was, indeed, controlled by the Castilians; but there was another mountain pass from St. Jean Pied de Port to Pamplona, which was in the power of the King of Navarre; and it was by this far-famed route, through Roncesvalles, that Spain had been most commonly invaded on the north-west. To guard against any such inroads for the future, Ferdinand had long judged it desirable to bring the mountain passes of Navarre under the control of Spain, by the conquest and occupation, not only of Navarre, whose southern frontier reached down into the very heart of Castile, but also, if possible, of Béarn, to the north of the Pyrenees. An invasion of Spain by France would thus be made a matter of extreme difficulty, as the long mountain ridge which stretches from Navarre to Roussillon was utterly impassable for an army.

But Ferdinand was never in a hurry. Nearly thirty years were suffered to elapse after the murder of François Phébus (1483) before he judged that the time had at length arrived for the annexation of his sister's kingdom. To conquer Navarre in 1512, Ferdinand looked to Julius II. for a Bull of excommunication, and to Henry VIII., or to his wife's confessor, for an army of invasion; and as it was desirable to draw off the troops that had been enlisted by Gonsalvo de Cordova in Andalusia to a place beyond the reach of the *Great Captain*, a Spanish contingent was organised, under the command of the Duke of Alva, to take the field on the borders of Navarre.[1]

On the 12th, or possibly the 18th of February, 1512, not long after the signature of the Holy League between Julius II., Ferdinand, and the Republic of Venice, against Charles XII. of France (4th October, 1511), the Pope fulminated a Bull of tremendous import against the sovereigns of Navarre;[2] a

[1] The Navarrese naturally retorted by an attempt to draw closer their alliance with France. But after the battle of Ravenna, in April, 1512, it became obvious to all parties that Navarre was doomed.

[2] The history of this Bull is very curious. Many writers are content to assert that it never existed at all. *Lagrèze* sums up all that can be said for this view

Bull, indeed, so shameless in its scope and tenour, that Papal apologists have long been fain to deny its existence; and an impartial historian has sought to minimise the wickedness of its declarations of deposition, by suggesting that it was purposely provided with a false date.

In any case Ferdinand obtained the desired assistance by the early summer of 1512. An English contingent, under the command of Grey, Marquis of Dorset, was despatched to the assistance of the Spaniards, and on the 8th of June an English squadron cast anchor in the beautiful little port of Pasajes, near San Sebastian, and awaited the arrival of the Spanish army. But the Spanish army never arrived. As Navarre was the true object of Ferdinand of Aragon, Navarre, of course, was not spoken of either to Henry or his general. Guienne was to be the price of the English intervention, and a joint invasion of the duchy was to be the first business of the allies. What happened is somewhat obscure. The Duke of Alva at first delayed to join the Marquis of Dorset; the marquis subsequently refused to

with admirable judgment and completeness in his *Navarre*, tom. i., pp. 268-276, and cites a number of authorities. Bergenroth's solution of the difficulty appears to me, on the whole, to be the most satisfactory. "It is an admitted opinion among some historians," says he, "that Pope Julius II. assisted King Ferdinand in the conquest of Navarre by excommunicating Jean d'Albret and the queen. Other historians of equal authority deny the fact, and observe that the original Bull was never produced. But the Bull, as a matter of fact, *was* granted by Pope Julius. Bulls were generally written on extraordinarily large sheets of parchment; but as it was difficult to read a document, the lines of which were thirty or forty inches long, it was customary to add, in the Papal Chancery, a transcript of the original Bull on paper or parchment of convenient size. When this particular Bull and the transcript arrived in Spain, the transcript only was read, and it was found to be in perfect order. The Archbishop of Cosenza, who was Papal Nuncio, had copies made from it, which were published in Spain, and sent to other countries. Thus the excommunication served all the purposes which King Ferdinand had in view. When, however, a year later, it was found necessary to consult the original, it was discovered that in several essential parts it differed from the transcript, and was utterly "worthless". *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain), vol. ii., pp. 46, 47. "There is no reason that I know of," says Prescott, vol. ii., chap. xxiii., note, "for doubting the genuineness of the instrument, but many for rejecting the date." His reasons are chiefly that a Bull of more general import, directed rather against the people than the sovereign of Navarre, was certainly published in July, 1512, and that contemporary writers seem to have overlooked that of February in speaking of that of July, and "it was probably obtained at the instance of Ferdinand, and designed, by the odium that it threw on the sovereign of Navarre, as an excommunicate, to remove that under which he lay himself, and at the same time to secure what might be deemed a sufficient warrant *for retaining his acquisition*". The tenour of the Bull itself is so shameless that, perhaps, it is not affected even by the fact of the instrument itself being a fraud! The falsification of a date is, perhaps, no worse, even in a Pope, than the spoliation of an innocent and friendly sovereign. The editor of the admirable edition of Mariana's History (Valencia, 1796), vol. ix., has given copies of *both* Bulls, App. x., pp. 126, 145.

See also P. Martyr, *Op. Epist.*, 497, and Hefele, *Vie de Ximenes*, pp. 452-4.

join the duke. Ferdinand sent envoys[1] to London to complain of Dorset. Dorset embarked his troops on board his ships, and sailed away to England. Guienne was neither occupied nor invaded. Henry VIII. gained nothing, not even honour, by his expedition. Yet the presence of Dorset and his army within a few miles of Bayonne had kept the French army under the Duc de Longueville so completely in check, that Ferdinand was enabled to send forward his troops into Navarre by the middle of July, to overthrow the kingdom almost without striking a blow, to drive out Jean d'Albret and his legitimate queen, and to occupy the Navarrese capital of Pamplona.[2]

At Pamplona, without troubling himself about his English allies, or even about the conquest of Guienne, Ferdinand, in accordance with his old policy, concluded a friendly truce for six months with France, which was followed by the definite Treaty of Orthez early in the following year (1st April, 1513). By this treaty Louis XII. recognised the spoliation that he had been unable to prevent; and while Guienne was saved from invasion or attack, the ancient kingdom of Navarre, with the exception of a few square leagues to the north of the Pyrenees, was permanently united to the Spanish monarchy. On the 23rd of March, 1513, the Estates of Navarre took the usual oath of allegiance to King Ferdinand; and on the 15th of June, 1515, the Cortes of Burgos incorporated the new province in the kingdom of *Castile*. Jean d'Albret and his wife lived but a short time after their spoliation. But if they had not defended their ancient kingdom with valour, they accepted their altered fortunes with dignity. Polite letters were encouraged, and good cheer was ever found at their little court in the castle of Pau, until Jean d'Albret died in 1516, and Catherine followed him less than two years later, in the spring of 1518.[3]

[1] Martin Dampier and Juan de Sepulveda. *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., p. 45.

[2] Ferdinand was, as may be supposed, very angry at the departure of the English. See Zurita, lib. x., cap. xi.-xviii.; Bernaldez, 236; Lafuente, x., 407-9. The fact that Lord Dorset was made a fool of by Ferdinand, does not render his retirement, when he might have been of service to his sovereign as well as to his nominal ally, either more prudent or more honourable; and he was severely blamed by Henry VIII. on his arrival in England. But it was, no doubt, supremely difficult for any honest man to work with Ferdinand. See *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., pp. 42-47.

[3] The portion of Navarre north of the Pyrenees was a prey to almost constant anarchy until 1530, when it was abandoned by Charles V. to its rightful owners.—H.

II.—*Henry VIII. of England.*

By the Treaty of Orthez, Ferdinand had, as he fondly hoped, at length prepared the way for the accomplishment of his scheme for the redistribution of power in Europe. Yet the practical difficulties in the way of the consummation of his wishes appeared daily more and more insurmountable. The establishment of the great Italian kingdom would undoubtedly have been pleasing to the emperor, whose grandson was to be endowed therewith. But unless France was held in check by the fear of an English invasion and the possibility of a Spanish alliance, Louis would never allow the kingdom in Italy to be established; and if Henry VIII. were allowed to perceive that he had been made a fool of by his father-in-law, in order to draw off the attention of France, and that he had no more chance of acquiring Guienne than he had of acquiring Granada, the choleric Englishman was capable of avenging himself, not only by abandoning his alliance with Spain, but even by hostile action in France or Italy. The position was critical in the extreme. That fiery old soldier, Julius II., had died in February, 1513; and in the following May, immediately after the Treaty of Orthez, a conference of the European Powers was held at Rome under the presidency of his subtle and politic successor, Leo. X.

That nothing was settled by this Council of Nations is not surprising; for every ambassador was provided with formal instructions to agree to everything, and with secret instructions to agree to nothing, that was proposed by any other power; and no one was either deceived or convinced by any one else. Meanwhile Henry VIII., who had just concluded a treaty on his own account with the emperor at Malines, on the 5th of April, 1513, introduced new complications by actually invading France. Ferdinand, while he professed an appropriate indignation to Louis XII., urged the English to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. But the victory at Terouanne, near Boulogne, which is commonly called the Battle of the Spurs, in August, 1513, failed to provoke the armed intervention of Ferdinand on either side; and his son-in-law, having taken and occupied Tournay, entered into a new and closer alliance with the emperor, which was signed at Lille on the 17th of October, 1513. Ferdinand replied by a solemn promise to Henry to invade and conquer Guienne for the English early in the next year—an undertaking which he fulfilled by the renewal of the

Treaty of Orthez with Louis XII. in March, 1514. The noblest schemes of a man so inherently and radically false, were, of necessity, foredoomed to failure and disappointment.

By this time it is probable that, under any circumstances, Henry VIII. would have arrived at a just appreciation of the value of his father-in-law's promises. But his intelligence was quickened by the intervention of our old friend Don John Manuel. That accomplished diplomatist had judged it prudent, on the death of Philip at Burgos in 1506, to withdraw from Spain; and he had acquired some influence at the court of the Emperor Maximilian in Flanders. Ferdinand the Catholic, justly judging that such influence was not likely to be favourable to his own political interests, had prudently arranged that Don John should be smuggled on board a Spanish ship at Antwerp, "that he might be conveyed as a prisoner to the place of which the captain only was informed".[1] "A ship," said Dr. Johnson, "is a prison with the chance of being drowned." The contingency, in the case of Captain Artieta's vessel, was so extremely probable, that we can feel no doubt that the place only known to that loyal mariner was none other than the bottom of the sea.

So, at least, thought Don John Manuel, and he contrived not only to remain on dry land, but having further obtained the direct and special protection of the emperor himself,[2] he proceeded to busy himself, as a practical retort upon King Ferdinand of Spain, with the agreeable task of enlightening King Henry

[1] *Calendar*, etc., etc., vol. ii., pp. 138, 139, 199. Letter of Ferdinand the Catholic. Written in the margin, "is not to be overlooked; to be read with attention". The letter informs the confidential envoy that "Madame Margaret is willing to deliver Don John Manuel up to him as a prisoner. He is to tell her that Don John has not only rendered bad service to him (King Ferdinand), *but also speaks so ill of her*, that for this alone he deserves punishment. He sends Artieta, who is the bearer of this despatch, with a ship which ostensibly sails with merchandise, but which, in fact, is sent for no other purpose than to convey Don John as a prisoner to the place of which Artieta is informed. If madame has not changed her mind, she is, with the greatest dexterity, and in such manner that nobody may be aware of it, to transport Don John on board ship, and to deliver him to Artieta to be carried away. This seems to be a small thing, but, in fact, it is very important."

[2] Maximilian to Margaret of Austria, 10th January, 1514. *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., pp. 199, 200 (No. 160).

June, 1513.—The Catholic King to Mosen Juan de Lanuza. *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., p. 136 (No. 119).

Henri VIII., *commençait enfin a' s'apercevoir qu'il avait été constamment joué par ses alliés, et qu' aprés avoir fort diminué les trésors que lui avaient laissés son père il était aussi loin que jamais de la conquête de la France.* Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tom. xv., 659.

VIII. of England as to the private character and political aims of his worthy father-in-law.[1]

The suspicions of the great Tudor were further aroused by the news of a secret treaty between Ferdinand, Louis and Maximilian, by which the French King was to marry Eleanor, the grand-daughter of the King of Aragon, and sister of Charles of Hapsburg; and upon the 7th of August, 1514, Henry VIII. concluded a final treaty with France. One very important provision in this treaty was the cancellation of that secret convention by which Louis XII. was to marry the Archduchess Eleanor; and the French King was immediately betrothed to Mary of England, whom he actually married some months afterwards, and who enjoyed but ten weeks of wedded life as Queen of France.[2]

The Peace of August, 1514, is not usually counted amongst the great treaties of mediæval or of modern times, or even of the sixteenth century. It was maintained but a few months; nor did either of the contracting parties at any time attach to it very great importance. Yet it changed the whole current of European history; and its effect upon the political state of Europe is to some extent felt even at the present day.

It was partly due to this treaty that King Henry VIII. was not permitted to "take the government of Scotland into his own hands," and that that country was afterwards united to England in a peaceful and lasting fashion; and the great object of Ferdinand's ambition was made impossible. The kingdom of north Italy was not formed. And as the Infante Ferdinand could not thus be indemnified by a grant of territory to the south of the Alps, he did not renounce his claim to any part of the Austrian inheritance; and as a division of the Austrian principalities would have prevented the formation of a powerful empire on the frontiers of Turkey, Charles had no choice but to abandon them entirely to his younger brother, who, thus endowed, became the only possible husband for the Princess Anne, through whom he acquired the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. Charles was left, therefore, without any possessions in Germany or central Europe; and although he succeeded his grandfather on the Imperial throne, he was crippled in his

[1] *Calendar*, etc., vol. ii., Introd., pp. 81-83.
A general truce had been previously signed at Orleans on the 13th of March, 1514. Rymer, xiii., p. 395; *Calendar*, etc., ii., pp. 230-234; and Sismondi, xv., 664.

[2] Louis XII. died on New Year's Day, 1515.

political movements during the whole of his life, by the fact that he was regarded as an alien within the empire. Nor was he able at the close of his most splendid and eventful reign to secure the succession to the Imperial purple for his favourite son, Philip of Spain and the Indies. It was the younger branch of the Hapsburgs that in future gave emperors to Europe; and as neither Spain nor the newly discovered islands and continents of the West, neither the Burgundian dominions, nor Naples, nor Sicily, nor Milan belonged to the *Kaiser* at Aix-la-Chapelle, Charles V. was the last prince of the House of Hapsburg who was in a position even to aspire to universal empire in Europe.[1]

III.—*Death of Ferdinand.*

By the year 1513 the life of Ferdinand had become as wretched as his bitterest enemy could have desired. Chagrined at his failure of issue by Queen Germaine; at enmity with his successor, jealous of his nobles, suspicious of all the world, he fled from town to town throughout Spain, seeking rest and finding none; harassed by business, incapable of pleasure, consumed by his old ambition, but never cheered by his old success.

In March, 1509, Queen Germaine had been delivered of a son, who received from his parents the name of John. But the curse that lay upon the children of Ferdinand was not yet spent; and the rival of Charles V., the heir of Aragon, Sardinia, Naples

[1] It may be seriously questioned whether Ferdinand ever intended, if he could help it, his elder grandson to succeed to Spain as well as the empire. His anxiety, like that of all his Aragonese predecessors, was to extend the influence of Spain towards the East, and to prevent the expansion of France in that direction. He was surely too wise to desire to burden Spain with the new responsibilities in the north entailed by the possession of the empire and the dominions of the House of Burgundy—responsibilities which ultimately caused her ruin. Ferdinand more probably desired that his grandson Ferdinand should ultimately succeed to Spain and Naples as well as north Italy, in order that Spain might continue the secular policy of Aragon; and that Charles should inherit the empire and Flanders. Such a combination would have crippled France utterly, and have secured Italy and perhaps the Levant for Spain. When Charles had inherited Spain as well as the empire his life-long struggle to obtain dominion over north Italy had quite a different object from that of his grandfather. His policy was no longer Aragonese expansion towards the East, but to shut in and surround France with the territories of the empire, and provide an easy road by land for the transport of Spanish troops into Germany, Franche Comté, Luxemburg and Flanders. In other words the policy of Ferdinand was directed to increase the influence of Spain, whilst the policy of his grandson Charles was necessarily that of *using* Spain for the forwarding of a set of Imperial and Burgundian interests in which Spain, as such, had no concern. Ferdinand's intentions, however, rest mainly upon conjecture, and evidently before his death he recognised that circumstances were too strong for him to attempt to deprive Charles of any part of his inheritance.—H.

and Sicily, was permitted to gladden the envious heart of his father by but a few hours of life. As years passed on there seemed little chance of any further issue of the King and Queen of Aragon. The unity of Spain at length appeared to be secure. But the ambition of Ferdinand was even surpassed by his jealousy. Childless, vindictive and obstinate, he chafed at the ill-success of his personal schemes; and rather than open the prison gates at Tordesillas, or suffer the crown of United Spain to pass over to his daughter's son and heir, he sought, at the hands of some medical impostor, the powers that were denied to his old age. The drug that was to have renewed his youth destroyed his constitution, and his death was the direct result of one of the least creditable of the many developments of his jealousy, his obstinacy and his selfishness.

During the whole of the year 1514, and the greater part of 1515, the king's condition grew worse. His restlessness became more marked, his physical suffering more acute, his loneliness more grievous.

Isabella had given place to a frivolous Frenchwoman. The *Great Captain* was languishing, as the great admiral had languished, ere he died of a broken heart, despising the false heart of his sovereign. Navarro was in prison in Italy; Joanna was in prison in Castile; Ximenez, negligent and neglected, sat silent in his library on the Henares, awaiting the inevitable regency; Don John Manuel was an honoured correspondent between Brussels and London.[1] Henry of England, Maximilian of Germany, Charles of Luxemburg, Louis of France, John of Navarre, Leo X., who had lately succeeded Julius II. at Rome, and the rulers of every state in Italy, agreed only in this, that Ferdinand of Aragon was a king with whom no prudent or honourable man could desire to treat or to deal. The only personage in Europe of whom he had not yet become jealous was his grandson and namesake, the younger son of the unhappy Joanna, a boy of nine years old. Yet the Italian kingdom that he had destined for Ferdinand had come to nought. The most prudent, the most statesmanlike, and the most generous project of his life had been shattered by his own perfidy.

As he could not bequeath Italy to his grandson, he determined to indemnify him in the Peninsula; and anxious also to spite the one great man that yet lived in Spain, he committed to the child,

[1] A new treaty of peace and alliance with Henry VIII. of England was due to the exertions of Cardinal Wolsey, and was signed in London in December, 1515.

by his royal will and testament, the Regency of Aragon and Castile. But to this, at least, his council could not consent; and the sick man was forced to give his grudging and envious assent to the substitution of the name of Ximenez for that of Ferdinand in his political testament as Regent of Castile. The Regency of Aragon was confided to his natural son, the Archbishop of Saragossa.[1]

But towards Gonsalvo de Cordova he was drawn by neither fear nor favour; and the indignant hero was moved, towards the close of the year 1515, to seek in another land the consideration that was denied to him in Spain. His loyal nature was at last weary of the mean jealousy, of the perjured faith and the stupid ingratitude of the King of Aragon. His soul chafed at being virtually imprisoned, in the very theatre of so many of his former exploits, by a sovereign who owed so much to his devotion and to his loyalty; and in the autumn of the year 1515, he prepared to embark for Flanders, with his banished nephew, Don Pedro, Marquis of Priego, the Count of Ureña, and his future son-in-law, the Count de Cabra, the head of the great rival house of Cordova, now, indeed like so many of the other noble and knightly houses of Castile, shorn of its splendour by the oppressive policy of Ferdinand. But the *Great Captain* was not a man to take even a step of this sort in secret. The news of his preparations reached Ferdinand. The king sent word that no ship of any sort should leave Malaga without a royal permit; and gave orders for Gonsalvo's arrest. But the old soldier was not doomed to suffer this last indignity at the bidding of his sovereign. Death anticipated the royal officer. And on the 2nd of December, 1515, in his

[1] Carbajal, *Anales* (1516), cap. ii.; but *cf.* Zurita, lib. x., cap. xcix.

It is sometimes stated—without a shadow of reason—that Ferdinand at one time intended to leave his crown of Aragon by will to his favourite grandson.

With all his faults and weaknesses, Ferdinand the Catholic never seems to have contemplated the dismemberment of Spain, so gloriously united by his marriage with Isabella. His policy would no doubt have been changed by the birth of a son to him by Germaine; but it is hard enough to know what Ferdinand the Catholic did, without seeking to guess what he might have done. His dream of sovereignty for his grandson Ferdinand was in Italy or southern Europe; and he was the last man to leave as a heritage to his grandson the civil war which would inevitably have followed an attempt by the brothers to divide the kingdom of Spain, legitimately united in the person of their mother, Joanna, and actually to be enjoyed by her eldest son.

With the destruction of all his schemes for the establishment of a kingdom of United Italy, Ferdinand's great European scheme was brought to nought.

His last endeavour, as regards his grandson Ferdinand, was to endow him, not with the sovereignty of what was once the kingdom of Aragon, but with the Regency of United Spain (with the hope, doubtless, that his regency might later be converted into sovereignty.—H.).

palace in Granada, the *Great Captain* was released from his worldly allegiance, and took his place among the departed heroes of his country.[1]

The death of Gonsalvo brought to Ferdinand neither sorrow nor satisfaction. Ximenez was firm in his refusal to reside at court, and he remained at Alcalá *"attendant,"* as Baudier quaintly has it, *que Dieu fist de ce Prince selon le décret de sa volonté.*

At length came the inevitable end; and at the wretched hamlet of Madrigalejo, near Guadalupe, in the mountains of Estremadura, on the 23rd of January of the new year 1516, Ferdinand died; and Spain was at length a United Kingdom. But, by the bitterest irony of fate, at the very moment that national unity was secured, national independence was lost. While the Spanish queen lay in prison in Castile, the sallow foreigner from Flanders was summoned to sit upon her throne, and the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, after so many changes and chances, found themselves at last united, only to make a rich province in the empire of the Hapsburg, the brightest jewel in the crown of a German Cæsar.[2]

[1] His wife Doña Maria survived her husband but a few days. The whole of Gonsalvo's possessions passed to his daughter Elvira, whose marriage with the Count de Cabra was in due time solemnised, and their eldest son, called after his grandfather Gonsalvo Fernandez, filled the important offices of Governor of Milan, and Captain-General of Italy, under the Emperor Charles V.

[2] A letter of 22nd January, 1516, written by Ferdinand on his death-bed, to Prince Charles, is preserved at Simancas, and published in the *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xiv., p. 353. Ferdinand says that although he could dispose of his kingdoms, *que en nuestra vida han sido acrescentados de nuestra corona real de Aragon*, as he pleased, yet that he had not done so *por el amor que os tenemos;* and asking him, in return for such favour, to be kind and good to his widow Germaine. The letter is endorsed, *Carta muy notable.*

CHAPTER LXI.

CÆSAR.

(1517—1522.)

I.—*Supplementary*

The history of Spain from the death of Ferdinand the Catholic until the election of his grandson, Charles of Hapsburg, to the Imperial throne in Germany, is beyond the scope of these volumes. The capable and masterful administration of Ximenez in Castile, the ingratitude of Charles at Brussels, the rapacity of the Flemings at Valladolid, the waning powers of the captive queen at Tordesillas, and, above all, the new position that was occupied by Spain and the Spaniards towards the empire, and the vast responsibilities which the connection entailed; all this would need many chapters for its record and development.

But there is one episode, characteristic at once of the aspirations and the methods of mediæval Spain, that belongs rather to the fifteenth than to the sixteenth century, albeit the result had an immense influence upon the fortunes of Spain and of Europe at a most critical period of the history of the world; and with a brief *supplementary* chapter, telling of the inception, of the nature and of the suppression of the revolt of the Comuneros of Castile, I will bring this sketch of ancient and mediæval history to a final, and, I trust, not an inappropriate conclusion.

II.—*Carolus Rex Romanorum.*

Within a few days after the death of Ximenez, Charles, the first king of that name who had ever reigned in the Peninsula, made his triumphant entry into Valladolid, on the 18th of November, 1517. He was nearly eighteen years of age, of moderate stature, slight in figure, but excelling in all rude and

martial exercises, illiterate, inconsiderate, and hardly displaying that capacity for affairs which even then he undoubtedly possessed.

He had up to this time resided exclusively in the Low Countries, and had been brought up by a Flemish tutor, William de Croy, lord of Chièvres, under the spiritual guidance of Adrian of Utrecht. The young prince was grave, self-contained, taciturn. His ignorance of the Spanish language rendered any communication between him and his Castilian subjects well-nigh impossible. His court, moreover, was composed almost exclusively of Flemings, who soon monopolised every position of honour or profit under the crown.

William de Croy, a nephew of the lord of Chièvres, a youth not even of canonical age, was hastily appointed to sit upon the throne of Ximenez as Primate of Spain;[1] and one Sauvage, an obscure Fleming, succeeded the great cardinal as Chancellor of Castile. But the Spanish nobility had been humbled under Ferdinand and Isabella, and they were very far from having recovered their ancient influence under the brief but despotic administration of Ximenez.

The Commons of Castile were more ready to assert their power; and in January, 1518, they assembled in the convent of St. Paul at Valladolid. Charles had called himself King of Spain; but the royal title belonged of right to his mother Joanna; and it was with much difficulty that the Cortes was induced to accept the young prince as their titular sovereign, *in conjunction with* his mother, whose name was to take precedence of his own in the royal writs and proclamations. Nor was this modified recognition agreed to until the king had consented, as a condition precedent, to swear that he would observe the laws and customs of the kingdom.[2]

Content with this practical, if theoretically partial, recognition, of which the value was enhanced by a handsome subsidy,

[1] Peter Martyr, *Epist.*, 655.

[2] *Guardar las libertades, privilejios, usos, y buenas costumbres del Reino.*

No less than eighty-eight petitions for the redress of grievances were presented to the king at the same time. Some of them are sufficiently curious, as for instance:—

That the king shall take a wife as soon as possible.

That the king shall learn to speak Spanish.

That the exportation of horses be forbidden.

That the Inquisition be required to do justice according to law, with the bishops acting as judges.

That grants in mortmain to churches be forbidden.

That no man be compelled to receive, against his will, nor to pay for, a Papal Bull.

Charles set out for Saragossa, where the Commons of Aragon showed themselves less compromising and by far less liberal than the formalists of Valladolid. In Catalonia the popular feeling was still more adverse, and a confederacy of cities, unsupported by the nobles of either Castile or Aragon, submitted a bold though respectful remonstrance to Charles at Barcelona, early in 1519.

The young king had contrived in a very short space of time to make himself exceedingly unpopular in Spain. His abrupt and ungrateful dismissal of Ximenez, his exclusive patronage of Flemish courtiers, his ignorance of the Spanish language, his disregard of the Spanish people, were alike distasteful to his new subjects, already disposed to be jealous of a sovereign who had never set foot in their country, and whose mother, the legitimate Queen of Castile, was kept in confinement within the realm. The appointments of De Croy, of Sauvage, and of Cardinal Adrian were no less offensive than the removal of his brother Ferdinand to Flanders.

Thus all Spain was offended, apprehensive, ill at ease. But before the growing discontent in the Peninsula could be dealt with, or even fully appreciated, a new current was given to the personal ambition of the young king by the death of his grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian on the 18th of January, 1519. Universal empire was already the dream of Charles' life. The marriage of his brother Ferdinand and the division of the inheritance of the Hapsburgs in central Europe had, indeed, reduced his territorial possessions in Germany to a cypher. Yet it was upon the empire that all his thoughts were now fixed; and his more solid position as King of United Spain was disregarded, if not actually despised. Charles I. of Spain is not spoken of, even by the pedants of history, by his Spanish style and title, but is ever known as the fifth German Charles, whose capital was at Aix-la-Chapelle.

Three European princes at once sought the suffrages of the electors[1]: Francis I. of France, Henry VIII. of England, and Charles I. of Spain. The intrigues, the bribery, the endless negotiations, the intervention of Leo X., the attempted election of Frederic of Saxony, and the final success of Charles of Haps-

[1] The seven *Electors* at the time of the death of Maximilian were: 1. Louis, King of Bohemia; 2. Frederic, Duke of Saxony; 3. Albert of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Mentz; 4. Hermann of Wied, Archbishop of Cologne; 5. Richard of Greiffenklau, Archbishop of Treves; 6. Joachim, Marquess of Brandenburg; 7. Louis, Count Palatine of the Rhine.

burg, these things form a long and not uninteresting chapter in the history of Germany and of Europe. The effect upon Spain was immediately and permanently disastrous. On the 28th of June, 1519, just six months after the death of Maximilian, Charles was duly elected as his successor by the Assembly at Frankfort-on-the-Maine. The news was received by him nine days later at Barcelona, and the young prince, who had but recently landed in his hereditary dominions, where he had so hardly been recognised as king, made immediate preparations to return to his beloved Germany to claim the barren title of emperor.[1]

If the Spaniards had up to this been indignant, they now became rebellious, and if any possible pretender could have been found throughout the length and breadth of Spain, the young kaiser would have been sorely put to it to retain his Spanish crown. But the pretender was not forthcoming, for the popular young Ferdinand had been prudently spirited away.

To provide for the expenses of Charles' expedition a new subsidy was required; and the emperor-elect could think of nothing better calculated to allay the irritation among his Spanish subjects, than to summon a Cortes to vote the needful supplies, which should meet, not at Burgos, nor at Valladolid, but in the wildest and most distant corner of the Peninsula, at Santiago de Compostella, in Gallicia.[2] At Santiago, accordingly, the Commons assembled, at the end of March, 1520, well prepared with petitions and remonstrances against the king's proceedings. On the first critical division the court party could only secure a majority of *one* in the chamber; but the sitting having been adjourned to Corunna, and every art of flattery, of menace, with bribery, direct and indirect, having been lavished by the king upon the members of the Cortes, the subsidy was finally voted, and Charles sailed away the next morning, leaving his faithful Commons to reckon with their enraged constituents.[3]

[1] Not having been crowned by the Pope, Charles was considered to be only emperor-elect, and entitled to be styled *King of the Romans*. It would be somewhat pedantic so to speak of him. Yet it must be remembered that his Imperial position, technically, was incomplete. It is sufficiently strange that until the death of Joanna, in 1555, he was not *de jure* even King of Spain.

[2] The departure of the new emperor from Barcelona was anything but dignified. He withdrew himself suddenly from his palace during a storm of rain, and anticipated by a few minutes the approach of a body of some 6000 armed citizens who had intended to prevent his departure.

[3] Demonstrations against the deputies broke out before Charles left Corunna. The revolt rapidly spread through Castile, the property of most of the deputies being destroyed, and they themselves hanged.—H.

The immediate destination of Charles, when he set sail from Corunna on the 20th of May, 1520, was not Flanders, but England: and on the 26th of May he landed at Dover. His interview with his uncle, Henry VIII., was cordial in the extreme, and in spite of the magnificent and flattering reception of the King of England but a few days later by Francis I., "'twixt Guines and Ard," on the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*, the alliance between Charles and Henry was undisturbed. A return visit, indeed, was paid by the King of England to the emperor-elect at Gravelines on the 10th of July; and on the 14th of the same month a secret treaty was signed at Calais, by which both princes engaged themselves to refrain from any alliance with France. But we are concerned not with the history of Europe nor of the empire, but with that of the Spanish people.

III.—*The Germania of Valencia.*

The antagonism between the nobility and the people had always been more strongly marked in Valencia than in Aragon, or even in Castile, while the temper of the inhabitants was ever turbulent and unmanageable. In the summer of the year 1519, the plague broke out in the capital. The nobles, with many of the municipal officers, fled from the city, and the rumour spread abroad that the Moors of Algiers were about to take possession of the abandoned seaport. Some trivial outbreak displayed the power of the ungoverned citizens, and a JUNTA, or Council of Thirteen, was speedily constituted by popular election, under the leadership of two artisans, Juan Lorenza and Guillem Sorolla, who assumed the supreme power in the city.

The authorities, alarmed at the revolt, sent commissioners to the emperor-elect at Barcelona. But the delegates of the rebel council were not far behind them. Charles was about to set out for Aix-la-Chapelle, chafing at every delay, and in the worst of humours with the notables of Castile. To the noble delegates from Valencia he made answer that a Cortes should at once be summoned to meet in their city, but that as he himself could not attend, the Cardinal Adrian should preside in his stead. To the artisans he granted, whether to spite the nobles for their tardy recognition, or in pure ignorance of the gravity of the situation, the right of armed meeting and independent organisation at Valencia.

Never, surely, was coquetting with treason followed by more

swift and sudden disaster. On the last day of February, 1520, while Charles was on his way into Gallicia, the rebels, who were known by the name of *Germaneros*, held a great review at Valencia, at which 8000 armed men rallied round the standard of the *Germania*, and the Cardinal Governor was compelled to add the unwilling sanction of his presence to this declaration of civil war. Jativa, Murviedro, Segorbe, Orihuela and all the adjoining towns, with the single exception of Morella, proclaimed the *Germania*,[1] and the rebels, shouting *Viva el Rey*, everywhere took possession of the government. Unpopular nobles were hanged; houses and castles were burned or sacked. Mob law, under the uncertain guidance of the Junta, or Council of Thirteen, prevailed throughout the country. An ordinance of July, 1520, prescribed that no plebeian, of what crime soever he might be guilty, should be put to death, unless a noble was hanged at the same time, an ultra democratic system of criminal procedure unrivalled, perhaps, in the codes of the mediæval or modern world. At length the fugitive nobles took heart of grace, and seeking to unite their forces with those of the single city that held its ground against the *Germaneros*, succeeded in routing a large body of those irregular troops outside the very walls of *Morella*.[2]

This was the turning point in the insurrection. Union had been met by union. Charles, mindful at length of his former errors, sent a gracious message from Aix-la-Chapelle. The nobles were less successful at Jativa, where the citadel fell into the hands of the *Germania;* and in two or three battles during the summer of 1521, in the neighbourhood of Valencia, great numbers were slain on either side, without any decided advantage to either party. Yet the anarchy in Valencia died a natural death. An administration of hot-headed artisans was not made to endure; and before the end of the year the Junta, unconquered by king or kaiser, voluntarily abandoned their authority to their more legitimate opponents; and a few irreconcilables only retired, under the leadership of the bold velvet-cutter

[1] The one was a wool carder, the other a weaver. The word *Germania* answers exactly to the Castilian *hermandad* = a brotherhood, inasmuch as the Limousin word *Germâ* = *hermano* = brother. The fact of the association having been first heard of under a *German* king has given rise to some absurd etymologies.

[2] Morella, an inland city not far from Tortosa, at the mouth of the Ebro, was the *Castra Ælia* of the Romans and the winter quarters of Sertorius. It is still a strong, as well as a most picturesque, frontier fortress, with its steep streets, Moorish walls and towers; standing, as it does, upon a height to all appearance impregnable.

Vicente Peris, to make a last stand at the little town of *Jativa*.

The Roman Valeria Augusta, the Setabis of earlier days, and the Xativa of the Moors, a city famous under every dynasty that bore rule in the Peninsula, Jativa stands upon a height overlooking the sea, and its lofty castle commands an extensive view over the green *Vega* of Valencia, whose gardens are a "paradise of flowers and fruit"; the richest land in all Spain.[1] From December, 1521, to May, 1522, the town held out. A sudden assault was even made by the garrison upon the neighbouring capital; but Vicente Peris was killed in the streets, and the insurgents were repulsed with heavy loss.

A royal or pseudo-royal pretender, who is supposed to have been a Castilian Jew, took the place of the velvet-cutter at Jativa, and, asserting that he was a legitimate son of Prince John of Castile and Margaret of Flanders, made head for some weeks against the regular government. This new leader was treacherously killed on the 19th of May, and his body burned by the Holy Office; yet Jativa did not submit to the besiegers until the following September; although the garrison was reduced to such slender proportions that the walls are said to have been entirely defended by women for some weeks before the final surrender.[2] The usual executions followed the inevitable success; and order at length reigned at Valencia.

IV.—*The Comuneros of Castile.*

In the meantime Castile had been the scene of popular disturbances, more extensive, more remarkable, and in every way more serious than those of the Germania of Valencia—being rather a quasi-constitutional revolt, better known in general history as the war of the *Comunidades*, or *Comuneros* of Castile.

As Charles was on the point of setting out from Corunna for Flanders, the news had reached him of a rising at Toledo; and the return of the deputies to Segovia was the signal for a new outbreak of popular indignation against the king who had abandoned his country to rapacious foreigners, and against the

[1] The home of the Borgias and the birth-place in later days (1588) of Ribera, the painter. No stronger fortress, no richer magazine could have been found within reach of Valencia.

[2] The rising of the *Germania* extended also to Majorca, where the civil war was attended with many horrors, but was more promptly suppressed by the despatch of a royal fleet.

delegates who had been unfaithful to their trust. That the Flemings should monopolise the administration of Castile, and send sackfuls of gold *castellanos* out of the country by every ship that sailed from Spain for the north, was bad enough. But that the representatives of the Castilian cities, who had followed their flying king into far-away Gallicia, to remonstrate with him upon his conduct, should have been prevailed upon to burden their fellows with unusually oppressive taxation, to provide an enormous subsidy for his foreign enterprises—that, at least, was not to be borne. The returning deputies were received as traitors to Castile. At Segovia, where heads were ever hot and hands hasty, they were promptly hanged by their constituents. The representatives of Zamora more prudently kept away from their city; and were no less promptly, if less effectively, burnt in effigy.

At Madrid, at Guadalajara, at Alcalá, at Soria, at Toro, at Avila, at Cuenca, the people rose. Blood was spilt by the authorities and by the rebels; but as yet the disturbances were local and special protests, rather than civil war. At Burgos the appointment as corregidor of a good Castilian, the Constable Iñigo de Velasco, was hailed with satisfaction even by such zealous tribunes of the people as Doctor Zumiel; and everywhere the cry was "Long live the king! Death to his evil councillors!" *Viva el Rey! y mueran los malos ministros!* But the king was far away. The evil councillors had been left behind. Castile drifted from remonstrance into rebellion; and Cardinal Adrian, returning from Santiago, undertook savage measures of repression.

Medina del Campo, in the year of grace 1521, was one of the richest cities in Castile. It was not only the great mart and emporium of central Spain, but it had long been one of the favourite places of residence of the Castilian court. The prudence of Cardinal Ximenez had established a vast magazine of military stores within the walls. Three great fairs in each year attracted the merchants and traders of every country in Europe. Nowhere was to be found such a profusion of costly stuffs, of fine cloth, of rich brocades, of tapestries, of carpets. The jewellers, moreover, and workers in metals of every kind were no less celebrated than their brother craftsmen.

Medina was not only an emporium, it was a granary. Lying in the centre of the great wheat country of the Peninsula, its merchants supplied at once all the necessaries and all the luxuries of life. But Medina had assisted Segovia in its op-

position to the foreigner, and the foreigner revenged himself without mercy. The city was taken, plundered, burnt. Nine hundred houses are said to have been utterly destroyed. Of the rich merchandise within them, nothing was left to the owners or to Spain. Medina was ravaged beyond restoration. Nor did the city at any time recover or seek to renew its old importance. Trade was turned into other channels. Riches no longer sought a home in the blackened ruins. And although the proud name of Medina del Campo is still borne by the little town which gives its name to a modern railway station in Castile, there is nothing left to remind the traveller of the glories of a forgotten past.[1]

The destruction of Medina del Campo was the signal for civil war. Every town and city prepared to assert its rights. The tocsin was rung in Valladolid, the seat of the Viceregal Government. Burgos declared for the *Comuneros*. Nor were the central provinces alone affected. In Aragon, indeed, thanks to the great influence of the nobles, domestic peace was maintained.[2] But the insurrection spread from Castile to the southern provinces. Badajoz and Seville, Jaen, Ubeda and Baeza sent their delegates to a popular assembly at Avila, which was known as the *Junta Santa*. Nothing could have been less like the conduct of the *Germaneros* at Valencia than that of the *Comuneros* of Castile. Nothing could be more orderly than the meeting of their assembly. Nothing could be more reasonable than their declaration of grievances. They expressed their loyalty to the king, their desire for peace and good order, their detestation only of the foreigners and their oppression. The appointment of a stranger to act as Regent of Castile was pronounced unconstitutional, and Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht was invited to resign his charge.

At this critical moment all eyes were turned to poor Joanna, the legitimate Queen of Spain, shut up in prison at Tordesillas. The cardinal, ignoring the State fiction of her insanity, applied to her for a confirmation of his authority as regent. Surprised at this sudden manifestation of respect, the queen, not unwisely, hesitated; and before she had satisfied herself of the reasonableness of Adrian's demands, Juan de Padilla and Juan Bravo, the leaders of the *Comuneros*, made

[1] There are now (1894) about 4000 inhabitants, thanks to the new railway station.

[2] It may be added that Aragon had not the same reason for rising as Castile. The Cortes of Aragon had only grudgingly voted the usual supplies.—H.

their appearance at the castle, and demanded her royal assistance for Spain.

Joanna, shut out from all knowledge of contemporary affairs, might well have been perplexed at the situation; yet she seems to have behaved with considerable discretion. Her signature was not affixed to the decree submitted by the regent, but Padilla received a commission as Captain-General of the kingdom, and the *Santa Junta* was invited to assemble at Tordesillas, where the learned Doctor Zuñiga of Salamanca, exposed to the queen, in repeated audiences, the grievances that vexed the people of Castile.

The political fable of Joanna's madness was thus entirely forgotten by her contemporaries; and historians are content, as a rule, with the assertion that she was enjoying a "lucid interval"; yet it was not to be supposed that the feeble and ignorant prisoner could direct a constitutional revolution. No Berengaria was she to steer a bold and prudent course amid the rocks of contending factions; nor did any saviour of society stand forward in these trying times. The hour had come, but not the man. Padilla and Bravo were good enough as *guerilleros*. The Junta was composed of worthy citizens; but a leader of men was not found in Spain. Yet the result would have been very different, had not the Castilian nobles, more jealous of the power of the Commons than of the authority of the foreigner, held aloof from Tordesillas, or declared for Charles of Hapsburg.[1] The people, unaided by their natural and national leaders, became at once unruly and despondent. Joanna hesitated, and was forgotten.

A letter of remonstrance in very humble language was addressed by the Junta to Charles, and the young emperor, who showed at least a juster appreciation of the situation than might have been supposed from his former proceedings, shut up the bearer in the Imperial prison at Worms; vouchsafed no reply to his rebellious subjects; but wrote urgent letters to his Flemings in Spain, commanding them to seek the assistance and support of the native nobility: while at the same time he appointed the

[1] This was to a great extent the fault of the *Comuneros* themselves. In their great petition of eighty-two clauses, embodying a perfect scheme of advanced reform in all branches of political life, they were unwise enough to include demands directed against the privileges of the nobles. They must be debarred from office in the revenue or domains and royal fortresses; their towns and lands must be assessed for taxation like the property of commoners; no more grants of nobility must be made, and so on. This naturally turned the nobility against the movement.—H.

Constable Iñigo de Velasco and the Admiral of Spain, Don Fadrique Henriquez, to be coadjutors of the discredited regent. No conduct could have been more discreet. Spain at length felt the firm hand of a master. Burgos returned to its allegiance. Simancas had never joined the *Comuneros*. The queen remained at Tordesillas. The Junta had wasted precious time; and an ill-considered attempt to enlist the services of one of the great territorial lords was attended with the most disastrous consequences, when Don Pedro Giron, the eldest son of the Count of Ureña, was named Captain-General of the popular forces, in place of the brave Juan de Padilla. That noble-hearted and true patriot was content, indeed, with a subordinate command in the army of his countrymen; but Don Pedro, gained over by an ecclesiastical emissary from the royal camp, treacherously withdrew his forces on the approach of the Imperialists. Tordesillas was taken and sacked; the queen was once more subjected to a rigorous imprisonment; and the traitor Giron was suffered to return to his estates.[1]

The disaster was irreparable. Yet the insurrection was far from being suppressed. Juan de Padilla, notwithstanding the jealous opposition of the President of the Junta, Don Pedro Laso de la Vega, was re-elected Captain-General of the *Comuneros;* and a severe blow was inflicted by him upon the Imperialists near the ruins of Medina del Campo; but a want of harmony in the councils of the insurgents prevented their chief from recovering Tordesillas, and once more setting free the queen. Torrelobaton, indeed, was taken. But the advantage was not followed up, and the insurgent leaders were amused by negotiations with the Imperialists, while Pedro Laso de la Vega was making his own terms for the betrayal of the Junta with the regent and his Flemish advisers. The blue blood of Castile had, indeed, lost its ancient virtue.

Bishop Acuña of Zamora, a sexagenarian prelate of the good old fighting school that had well-nigh passed away, remained the sole chief and director of the national party; and he was proclaimed Archbishop of Toledo by a tumultuous assembly in the cathedral of the metropolitan city. Prior Zuñiga, his rival in camp and choir, took advantage of his absence within the sacred precincts of Toledo—it was on Good Friday, 1521—to attack

[1] D. Pedro Laso de Vega, President of the Junta, had unhappily become jealous of Juan de Padilla. Señor Lafuente (xi., 173) justly takes Robertson to task for his ignorance and want of appreciation of the contemporary history of Castile, in supposing that Giron was no traitor.

and plunder the neighbouring town of Mora, where some 4000 *Comuneros*, who had taken refuge in the church, were burnt alive within the very walls of the disregarded sanctuary.

The evil passions that had been so constantly fed with the blood of Jews and Moors and Indians were now directed without restraint against Catholics and Castilians. But the conduct of those who fought for the Fleming and the foreigner seems, upon a calm review of the circumstances, to have been more atrocious by far than that of the humbler patriots who fought, albeit unwisely, for the ancient privileges of Castile. Yet it was but natural that, as the contest was continued, the character of the rising should have changed; and that what was at first little more than a political demonstration—a remonstrance, unconstitional, but not unprovoked—should have become a desultory and aimless rebellion, an exhibition of the old antagonism between the Have-nots and the Haves.

The nobility, lukewarm from the first, were completely alienated by the excesses of the *Comuneros*. The Junta ceased even to direct the movements of its former supporters. The end was not far off. On 23rd April, 1521, at Villalar a little town between Toro and Torrelobaton, the insurgent army, marching unadvisedly across a morass, was surprised and cut to pieces by the Imperialists without the loss of a single man. It was a massacre, not a battle; and it sealed the fate of the insurrection.

Padilla, Maldonado and Bravo, the three chiefs of the Communal forces, were taken prisoners, and immediately executed, under circumstances of extreme indignity. Yet the noble widow of Padilla continued the contest for a few months, and added her name to the long roll of honour of the many heroines of Spain.

Doña Maria Pacheco, a daughter of the Count of Tendilla, and a sister of the Marquis of Villena, in whose frail and delicate body was found a spirit no less bold than that of her noble husband, had married Juan de Padilla in the year 1505. She was residing at the time of the massacre of Villalar, in her husband's house at Toledo. She had won the admiration of the citizens, not long before, by a solemn and ceremonious appropriation of the church plate to the needs of the *Comunidad*, a piece of patriotic sacrilege so reverentially executed, that even the cathedral clergy did not venture to oppose it, though it was not likely that they should approve or forget it; and on hearing of the disaster at Villalar, Doña Maria took upon herself the defence of the city. Acuña, the fighting Bishop of Zamora, was content

for some time to lend her his valuable support; but at length, judging, no doubt, that further resistance had become impossible, he stole out of the city by night, and falling into the hands of the implacable Prior of San Juan, he was sent to the castle of Simancas, where he was subsequently executed[1] after five years' imprisonment, in March, 1526. Doña Maria, seeing that no hope remained of useful resistance, and willing to cut short the horrors of a siege, obtained from Prior Zuñiga, who commanded the besiegers, most honourable terms of capitulation, which were signed at the neighbouring monastery of La Sisla, by virtue of which Toledo opened its gates to the Imperial troops on the 25th of October, 1521.[2]

But the peace was of short duration. In the course of some ecclesiastical rejoicings at the election of Cardinal Adrian to the Popedom in January, 1522, some insult was offered by an *Imperialist* to a *Comunero*. The latter, retaliating somewhat warmly, was hanged the next day by order of the governor. The streets were filled with troops. Popular resistance was of no avail. The *Comunero* fled or were driven out of the city. The treaty of La Sisla was declared violated and annulled. Doña Maria herself hardly found safety in flight across the frontier into Portugal.[3] *Asi*, says Señor Lafuente, *acabó el levantamiento de las Comunidades.*

But something far more than an insurrection had been destroyed at Villalar, when the Castilian nobles betrayed their brothers, the commons of the realm, that a foreign priest and a foreign emperor might imprison the Queen of Castile; and when Juan de Padilla, the last of those sturdy Spaniards who "feared neither[4] king nor rook" was surprised and butchered at Villalar,

[1] He was hanged from the battlements, by order of Ronquillo, with the approbation of Charles V. Lafuente, xi., 259.

[2] The first article of this celebrated treaty is sufficiently characteristic. It provides that Toledo, in spite of rebellion and capitulation, should retain its title of "most noble and most loyal".

[3] She died unpardoned by Charles, in March, 1531.

[4] In the summer of 1522, Charles, attended by a long train of Flemish courtiers, and protected by no less than 4000 German troops, once more set foot in Spain. On the 16th of July, he landed at Santander, and travelling by way of Tordesillas, where he paid a brief visit to his mother in prison, he proceeded to set up his court at Valladolid, and to deal with the extinct rebellion of the *Comunidades*. And it was here, on the 28th of October, 1522, nearly a year after the surrender of Toledo, and a year and a half after the massacre at Villalar, that he promulgated that celebrated edict of pardon of his late rebellious subjects, whose wise clemency has called forth the extravagant eulogiums of subsequent historians. As a matter of fact, the principal leaders of the revolt had already suffered the extreme penalty of the law—some before, and some after the return of their

it was not the death of a hero that Castile was called upon to deplore; it was the final destruction of the Free National Life of the Spanish people.

sovereign from Germany. Castile, which had never been really disloyal to Charles himself, was now profoundly tranquil. And yet in this tardy *universal Pardon* are found the names of no less than *three hundred* Spaniards of distinction withdrawn from its sphere of mercy. It was not, perhaps, unwise; it was not iniquitously cruel; but it was certainly not extravagantly clement. The double traitor, Don Pedro Giron, was the only one of the leaders of the *Comunidad* that was ever suffered to enjoy the royal or Imperial favour. *Cf.* Gudiel, *Hist. de los Girones*, fol. 151 *et seq.*

CHAPTER LXII.

ARCHITECTURE.

I.—*Christian Architecture.*

Down to the middle of the eleventh century the architecture of Christian Spain was characteristically and essentially national. Known in the language of Spanish art as the *obra de los Godos*, the style was truly *Gothic*, and had nothing in common with that later and nobler development of the art of the builder which is known in England by the somewhat misleading name of Gothic architecture. The only remains of this early Spanish art that are still in existence, are to be found, as might be supposed, in the extreme north of the Peninsula, in the old kingdom of Leon or of the Asturias to the west, and in the county of Barcelona to the east of the Pyrenees.

The earliest remaining example of this *obra de los Godos* in Spain is said to be the Church of Santa Maria de Naranco near Oviedo, which is the work of the middle of the ninth century, while the Church of St. Paul at Barcelona,[1] where Wilfrid *the Hairy* lies buried (*ob.* 912), is probably of about the same period. Santa Maria de Naranco is not particularly characteristic of the old Gothic work, for the building is rather Romanesque, both in design and in detail, and it is chiefly interesting, according to Mr. Fergusson, in that it exhibits the Spaniards, in the

[1] Mr. Street sees no reason to doubt the antiquity of this church, which is described very fully by him in his *Gothic Architecture in Spain* (1868), pp. 229-290, and pp. 413-415. See also Masdeu, xiii., 154; and Cean Bermudez, *Viaie.* The principal churches of the eighth century are Santa Cruz (*circ.* 735?), at Cangas de Onis; San Salvador at Oviedo; San Juan Evangelista at Pravia; and the Cathedral at Urgel. Of the ninth century—San Tirso, San Julian, Santa Maria, and Nuestra Señora de Oviedo; San Marcello at Leon; and the Cathedral of Santiago at Compostella. Of the tenth century—the Cathedral of Leon; and of the eleventh century—the Cathedral of Barcelona.

See as to Santa Cruz de Cangas, Street, 412; *Esp. Sagr.*, xxxvii., 86; and Ford (1878), p. 224; and as to Santa Añes de Pravia, Street, *op. cit.*, p. 413.

middle of the ninth century, trying to adapt a Pagan temple to Christian purposes, as if they had been unable to elaborate any kind of *Ecclesia* in which they might assemble for worship, from their own artistic conceptions. St. Paul's at Barcelona is more original and more characteristic, as is the church of St. Pedro de los Gallegos at neighbouring Gerona, which is also the work of the tenth century.

From this time till the close of the eleventh century there was little or no change or development in Spanish art or construction. But about the time of the Norman conquest of England, the incursion of French ecclesiastics from Citeaux and Cluny, the interference of the Pope in the affairs of the Spanish Church and churches, and the general awakening of the country, led to a revolution in the Christian architecture of the Peninsula. Catalonia then came to belong artistically to Aquitaine, and Leon to Anjou, and while the eastern provinces were in the hands of a Latin people, the inhabitants of the western must have been rather Gothic or Iberian in blood, and their style is strongly marked with the impress of their race.

The Romanesque or Franco-Spanish may be said to have sprung into existence about 1066, and endured for two centuries in Spain. Introduced, in the first instance, from the north of the Pyrenees,[1] it gradually assumed a distinctively Spanish character; bold, simple and effective; with round arches, and pointed windows freely introduced.

Of the ancient and famous church that was founded in 868, and consecrated before the close of the ninth century, nothing now remains at Compostella; and the foundations of a new and more splendid edifice were laid somewhat less than 100 years later (1060-1070). The actual date of the commencement of the work is uncertain; but it was apparently completed under Diego Gelimez, the first archbishop of Santiago, about the year 1110.[2] Yet constant additions and alterations were made from the time of its first completion; and the ancient exterior is at

[1] Under the special patronage of Alfonso VI.—the destroyer of the national liturgy—and his French wife, Constance of Burgundy, and his French archbishop, Bernard of Toledo. See as to their influence more particularly, *ante*, chap. xxii.

[2] See the contemporary *Historia Compostelana*, reprinted by Florez in the *España Sagrada*, tom. xx. and *ib.*, tom. xix., p. 91.

The work was begun certainly not later than 1082, and completed *before* 1117. The building, as regards the general plan, is nearly identical with the Church of St. Sernin at Toulouse, which was begun in 1060, and consecrated in 1096. The bones of St. James are said to lie at Toulouse as well as at Compostella. See Street, 145; and *Transactions of Royal Institution of British Architects* (1861) as to St. Sernin at Toulouse.

the present day almost entirely overlaid with more modern masonry, though the interior has suffered less than usual at the hands of the workmen of the Renaissance.[1]

Somewhat similar in character to the great Cathedral of Santiago is the Church of St. Isidore at Leon, which is probably 200 years older than the Cathedral of that famous city, having been founded in 1030 by Ferdinand I. for the reception of the bones of St. Isidore, which were miraculously discovered and brought from Moslem Seville, as has been already related.[2]

Both the city walls and the cathedral at Avila were constructed in the last decade of the eleventh century. The walls remain to-day just as they were built nearly 800 years ago, and their round towers and solid masonry are a standing witness to the turbulent age that rendered such fortifications necessary, and to the good and honest workmen who raised them round about their city.

The Cathedral at Sigüenza was consecrated in 1123. The present nave is of a later period, but the work, both inside and out, is simple and characteristic. The first stone of the Burgos Cathedral was laid in 1221, and the work was carried on until the end of the sixteenth century. The first stone of Lerida Cathedral was laid in 1203, and the structure was probably completed in 1416. The great bell is said to have been cast in 1418. The cathedral itself is of surpassing interest and beauty. The cloisters were pronounced by Mr. Street to be "the grandest that he had ever seen"; and the whole is distinguished from contemporary work in France and England by that richness of detail and profusion of ornament that characterises almost every period of Spanish architecture.[3]

In 1227, when the older style originally introduced from France had developed itself into something peculiar to Spain, and before the new wave of French influence had spread over the country, the Spanish architects designed a church which was

[1] The great west front, known as the *Portica de la Gloria*, "the crowning glory of the Cathedral of Compostella, and one of the greatest glories of ecclesiastical architecture in Christendom," was completed about 1188. Street, 153. There is a plaster copy of this noble doorway in the South Kensington Museum.

[2] *Ante*, chap. xvi. The name of the architect, Petrus, is found in an inscription on the door of the church. See Gil Gonsalez Davila, *Teatro Ecclesiastico*, tom. i., pp. 340-356; *Esp. Sagrad.*, tom. xxxv., 350-360; Street, 120-128.

[3] See Street, *op. cit.*, p. 351. Characteristic, however, and beautiful as are these details, the great feature of the early Spanish style is the *Cimborio* or dome, which usually occurs at the intersection of the nave with the transept. Perhaps the most perfect example of such a dome is that which crowns the old cathedral at Salamanca, and dates from the first year of the thirteenth century.

to exceed in size, as well as beauty, anything that then existed in western Europe, the great cathedral on the banks of the Spanish Tagus. As early as 587, and probably for many years earlier, a Christian church had stood on the site of the present Cathedral at Toledo. At the conquest in 711 the church was converted into a mosque, enlarged and greatly embellished by the Arabs. On the cession to the Christians under Alfonso VI., in 1085, when the young Prince Yahia abandoned his noble patrimony and retired to Valencia, it was expressly stipulated that the Moslems should retain it as a place of worship. But within two months from the departure of the Moslem king, the Mosque was forcibly occupied and consecrated by Bertrand the French Archbishop, who had lately arrived from Cluny. Of this second building—as of its predecessor on the same site, nothing now remains.

The first stone of the new edifice was laid by St. Ferdinand in 1226 or 1227, about the same time as the work of cathedral building was begun at Salisbury and Amiens, and it was many long years before the great church was completed. The ground plan and the details for some distance from the foundations are French in character; and although Moorish influence may be seen to some extent in the later work, the whole church, says Mr. Street, is "a grand protest against Mohammedan architecture"; nor can any city in the Middle Ages show anything "so distinctly intended and so positive in its opposition to what was being done at the same time by other architects." The edifice, as completed, is larger than any Christian church in England, France, or Germany, though it holds only the third place among the cathedrals of Spain.[1]

An indifferent husk, says Mr. Fergusson, encases a noble interior. In spite of French design and Arab suggestion, the

[1] The superficial area of the great cathedrals of Europe is approximately as follows. I have taken the measurements, as a rule, from Fergusson:—

St. Peter's	230,000 square feet.
Cordova	160,000 ,,
Seville	125,000 ,,
Milan	110,000 ,,
Toledo	90,000 ,,
Cologne	89,000 ,,
Florence	85,000 ,,
St. Paul's	84,000 ,,
Agia Sofia	70,000 ,,

The inclusion or exclusion from the measurements of the various chapels in the case of *Toledo* has caused a great discrepancy in the different estimates, which vary from 75,000 to 105,000 square feet. I trust I have arrived at a fair mean.

work is essentially Spanish, and the treatment of the choir and of the screen surrounding it is one of the glories of Castilian architecture, and perhaps the richest specimen of its class in Europe.[1]

The noble cathedral at Leon was built between 1250 and 1310; and that of Oviedo is of the same architectural period; while in the far north-east, the Cathedral of Barcelona, which is highly praised for its "cheerfulness" and "elegance,"[2] was also erected in the fruitful years between 1270 and 1330. But between the north-east and the north-west there are well marked differences of style. The structural width, which is so constantly aimed at by the early Spanish designers, more especially in the north-east, is carried to excess in the church at Manresa, which is but two hundred feet long, and fully one hundred feet in breadth. In the great Cathedral of Gerona the central aisle has a clear span of fifty-six feet, and while the length is but one hundred and sixty feet, the width is no less than seventy-three feet clear. If it is remembered that the normal width of the naves of the largest English and French cathedrals is about forty feet, and this in buildings three or even four hundred feet in length, the boldness of these Spanish constructors becomes the more apparent. Nor can the abnormal width of the buildings be considered as in any degree an artistic blemish or deformity. "As it stands," says Mr. Fergusson, "the church at Gerona must be looked upon as one of the most successful designs of the Middle Ages, and one of the most original in Spain."[3]

But while Gothic churches were being erected under French tuition in the north and centre of Spain, another style was developing itself under Moorish influence in the south, which failed to have any lasting effect on the national art, owing to the antagonism of race and religion between the Spaniard and the Arab, or rather the growing intolerance on the part of the Christians to adopt or allow anything that savoured of Islam.

We have seen that from the beginning of the eighth to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries, the Peninsula was largely peopled by Christians who lived under the Arab government, and were known as *Mozarabs*. By the middle of the thirteenth century, when James of Aragon and St. Ferdinand of Castile had recovered the greater part of Spain, the Moslems continued to dwell in many of the towns and districts, more especially in

[1] Fergusson, *History of Architecture* (1867), vol. ii., pp. 139-142.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 143, 144. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

the south, under the new Christian rulers, and were known as *Moriscos* or *Mudejares*.[1]

The chief industries of the country remained for a long time in the hands of this more cultivated section of the population, and many Christian churches and other buildings of importance were built by them during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Accommodating their own architectural taste and traditions to Christian requirements, they created a new and mixed style, which is technically known in the Spanish Peninsula as *Mudejar*. Of this style we have still remaining the *Alcazar* of Seville, of 1353; the Mudejar gates of Toledo and Saragossa, and the Chapel of St. James in Alcalá de Henares.[2]

As examples of civil or non-ecclesiastical architecture, the finest remaining in this style are the *Cas de Pilatos* at Seville, the palace of Mendoza at Guadalajara, the archbishop's palace at Alcalá, and the *Casa de Mesa* at Toledo.

But although comparatively few examples of this most interesting style are now to be found,[3] the influence of Arab art is seen in every quarter of the Peninsula, and shows itself more particularly in the extreme richness of the ornamentation into which the Spanish architects were so often tempted, even when expressing themselves in Gothic and Renaissance details.

The Cathedral at Seville is at once the largest and the grandest of all mediæval cathedrals. But although it is not, like the Mezquita at neighbouring Cordova, itself a Moslem temple, it was erected on the site of the mosque, which was cleared away to make room for it, and whose tower the Giralda yet remains to tell of its old Moslem magnificence.[4] Excluding the chapel behind the altar, a sixteenth century excrescence, the cathedral is four hundred and fifteen feet in length by three hundred feet in width, and is thus somewhat

[1] Ford (1878), Introd., p. 56.

[2] W. Webster, *Spain*, p. 196; Cean Bermudez, *Noticias*, ii., p. 7. The *Alcazar* was "restored" by Peter the Cruel, by Charles V., Philip II., Philip III., and Ferdinand VII.!

[3] The most noteworthy examples of this style, according to Fergusson, are the Church of Santa Maria la Blanca, of the twelfth century, and Nuestra Señora del Transito, of the fourteenth, both at Toledo, and both originally built not as mosques but as Jewish synagogues. Some other examples are described and figured by him (*History of Architecture*, ii., pp. 152-158). The only example of a Christian church, built as such, in the Moorish style is said to be the Church of Santiago de Penalva in *el Vierzo*. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1865; and Ford (1878), pp. 206-208.

[4] The first public clock that was put up in Spain is said to have been that over the cathedral at Seville, in 1400. Saez, *Demostracion de Monedas*, p. 445.

larger than the noble church at Milan, and exceeded only by St. Peter's and the Mezquita among the Christian churches of the world. The building was commenced about the year 1400, and was not completed until 1520, when St. Peter's at Rome was already far advanced in construction. Seville Cathedral is a truly Spanish church—immense, sombre, magnificent—the work of a native architect whose name has perished; rising like Spain itself from the ruins of Arab splendour, touched but hardly effected by French influence—splendidly, superbly incomplete!

The tower of La Giralda is, according to Mr. Fergusson, a more massive structure than is to be found elsewhere as the work of Moslem architects. At the base it is forty-five feet square, and it rises to a height of one hundred and eighty-five feet. A modern belfry of narrower dimensions was added in 1568 by Ferdinand Ruiz (?), which raises the tower ninety-five feet more, making it two hundred and seventy-five feet high at the present day.[1] How the original tower was completed we do not know. The idea that it was fitted as an observatory is scouted by Fergusson, who inclines to the theory that it was built by Yusuf the Almoravide to commemorate his great victory at Alarcon in 1195. As such a pillar of victory, says he, it is superior to most of those erected in Europe in the Middle Ages, and contrasts pleasingly with the contemporary Campanile at Venice, which, though nearly of the same dimensions, is, like most of the Italian towers of the same age, lean and bald compared with the tower at Seville.[2]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when what is called Gothic architecture was becoming gradually debased, and all western Europe was bent on supplanting it by the introduction of classical styles, Spain still clung to her old traditions, and the Cathedral of Salamanca, which was commenced in 1513, and that of Sevogia in 1523, are both true Spanish Tudesque designs, scarce influenced by the stress of the Renaissance.

But it is in the cloisters of Spanish monasteries and churches that the progress of Spanish architecture may be studied even more fruitfully than in the churches themselves. For the open

[1] Ford (1878, p. 300), says 250 feet, *plus* 100 feet.

The Campanile at Venice is 160 feet from the ground to the platform, and 124 feet more to the top, in all 284 feet. Girault de Prangey, pp. 103-112, *Essai sur l'Architecture des Arabes et des Mores en Espagne* (1841).

[2] *Op. cit.*, 404. If the tower of Giralda is surpassed in the world in size and beauty of construction, it is by another Moslem work, the Kutub Minar at Delhi, which is 240 feet in height at the present day—how much more we know not in the day of its prime—and forty-eight feet in diameter at its base.

cloister is peculiarly appropriate to the Spanish climate, and in the proportions and ornament of the arcades and patios, in the arches and the tracery, the artists of the Peninsula, largely influenced by Moorish models as well as native necessities, have ever taken their chief delight, and shown their most striking originality and skill.[1] In the gradual development, from the simple arcade of Gerona, dating from the earliest years of the twelfth century, to the exuberant caprice at San Juan de los Reyes, completed some 400 years later, we may read the progress of Spanish art.

Of domestic architecture earlier than the sixteenth century we have few records or remains. The cities possessed no municipal buildings like those of northern Europe; private houses in the towns were unimportant or artistically uninteresting, and the castles of the old nobility, whose ruins may still be seen throughout the country, have found no native student or foreign artist to examine, to catalogue, or to describe them.[2]

[1] The cloisters of Sigüenza were completed about 1507; of Palencia, 1514; of Tarragona, in 1520; and of Santiago, 1533. Street, p. 471. As to the cloisters of Las Huelgas, near Burgos, and of Tarazona, and as to the Spanish cloisters generally, see Fergusson, ii., 159-161.

[2] Fergusson, *op. cit.*, ii., 162, 163. See also Street, *op. cit.*, pp. 436-438. Referring to the castles of Segovia and of Coca in Castile, and of Olite in Aragon, Mr. Fergusson says that a monograph of the military architecture of Spain during the Middle Ages would be almost as interesting as that of her ecclesiastical remains. A history of Spanish architecture in general would be more interesting still. Of the 1500 pages of which Mr. Fergusson's *History of Architecture* is composed, only forty-two are devoted to the architecture of Spain (120-162). Of the same author's *History of Modern Styles*, twenty-eight pages, out of 580, is the somewhat more liberal proportion (pp. 147-175); while in Bucknall's edition of *Viodet le duc's Lectures*, the words Spain or Spanish do not ever occur in the index. Mr. Tavernor Perry, in his recent *Chronology* (1893), ignores altogether the Obra de los Godos or the architecture of any kind in north-west Spain until the middle of the eleventh century. Not a single building at Oviedo is referred to in any part of his work, nor are any Spanish buildings but Leon and Gerona set down in his very full chronological lists before Santiago at the end of the twelfth century.

Mr. Street's celebrated work, true to its title, *Some Account of Gothic Architecture in Spain*, is in no sense a history of Spanish architecture, nor even of Gothic architecture in Spain. It is a record of intelligent examination of a number of churches, and other buildings, with plans and sketches of the very highest value and interest; but of progress, of development, of the evolution even of *Tudesque* art in the Peninsula, of the influences within and without, that made the churches what they were, Mr. Street neither gives, nor professes to give, any account whatsoever. Nor has any modern Spanish artistic writer supplied the want. The work of Caveda (*Ensayo*, etc., Madrid, 1848), which I have consulted without much profit, is supposed to be the standard work on the subject; and though many interesting monographs upon the various cities in Spain have been recently published with many admirable illustrations, no author as far as I know has ever attempted to do more than describe particular buildings. A history of Spanish architecture has yet to be written.

II.—*Moslem Architecture.*

The origin of the Arabian styles of architecture is to be found no doubt at Constantinople. How a Greek art already dead, and a Roman art dying or decadent, can have originated the style that is conventionally known as Byzantine, it is somewhat hard to say; for the Byzantine differed, not only in detail but in principle, from all that is known to us of earlier European architecture. Strength was the great characteristic of the Greek; lightness the distinguishing feature of the Byzantine. The Parthenon would support a roof of ten times the weight that was actually placed upon the walls. *Santa Sofia* has just so much solidity and no more as may carry its exquisite cupola. As regards the material employed, the difference is no less remarkable. Huge stones characterise the Greek; small bricks the Byzantine; the pillars of the one are massive, simple, single, each one standing magnificently alone. The columns of the other are light, slender, graceful, and are frequently coupled, grouped and twisted. The difference between the Greek roof and the Byzantine cupola is even more striking; and in place of the great stones and broad slabs of a noble antiquity, a wealth of floral decoration invests the more modern style with its characteristic elegance. The ground plan of the Byzantine buildings, moreover, shows an equally radical change. The parallelogram gave place to the cuneiform and the circular. The arch, which the Greeks ignored, and which, in the hands of the Roman builder, had not yet been developed out of the primitive half-circle, is one of the favourite constructive devices of the Byzantines, and assumed in their hands every possible shape, but was ever distinguished by lightness and grace rather than by massive solidity. To derive the Byzantine, therefore, from the Greek, or even from the Roman, is rather a confession of ignorance, than an intelligent recognition of facts.

The history of Asiatic art after the battle of Issus is well-nigh a blank. It is probable that the unrecorded development of

The following works may further be consulted: Villa Amil, *España Artistica y Monumental* (1846); Parcerisa, *Recuerdos y Bellezas de España*; Chapuy, *Moyen Age Monumental et Archéologique* (1840); Wyatt, "An Architect's Notebook in Spain," *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxxvii., p. 496.

The great work, the *Monumentos Architectonicos de España*, in process of publication by the Spanish Government, is too *monumental* for ordinary use. It is published in what is, I believe, called *double elephant* folio, and each of the parts or *fasciculi* requires two men to carry it about, and a special table to lay it upon. Let me here record my thanks and apologies to the attendants at the British Museum Library, whom I have occasionally victimised *ad hoc*.

architecture in western Asia from the time of Alexander to the time of Mohammed, rather than fusion of Greek and Roman systems, may have produced that Byzantine style, which has so little in common with anything that went before it in Europe. But the rise and the connection of the various architectures of the world is a subject far beyond the limited scope of this chapter. And it is at least certain that the warriors of Arabia, spreading themselves, in the seventh century, like the flowing tide over the southern dominions of the empire in Asia, found the Byzantine style of architecture already highly developed, to a great extent, no doubt, by Persian influences; that they took possession of the Christian basilicas for the celebration of their own worship, and that the edifices which were gradually raised by them for their own religious services were closely modelled upon those which already existed in the country.

The first Moslem building of which we have any record of knowledge is the Mosque of Omar, erected by that leader on the site of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem about 637. The mosque built by Amrou at Old Cairo some five years later, and the great mosque at Damascus that was built by the Caliph Walid in 705, are among the best known of the early edifices of Islam; and they were built, without exception, under the inspiration and influence of Constantinople. After the eleventh century the Arab arts underwent a fundamental change, which resulted, in the thirteenth century, in a brilliant development, which is characterised by novelty of form as well as by beauty of ornament.

The style that was introduced into the Peninsula by the Moslem conquerors in the eighth century was what may be called pure Arab Byzantine. But from the moment of the landing of the invaders in Baetica, the influence of Roman architecture, of which so many magnificent examples were present around them, cannot have failed to make itself felt. At Merida, at Italica, at Cordova, at Alcantara, at Toledo, and at Tarragona the glorious remains of Roman greatness, of which but few have survived to our own times, still stood to impress and astonish the æsthetic invaders;[1] and it was not long before they themselves had added new glory to the architecture of Spain.

[1] At Merida, Italica, Cordova, Toledo and Tarragona.

"De ces nobles débris d'édifices élevés pour le plus part au temps d'Auguste . . . peu sont arrivés jusqu' à nous, mais les historiens Arabes racontent l'étonnement de Moussa et ses soldats á la vue des monuments . . . qu' ils supposaient être l'œuvres des génies." Girault de Prangey, *Essai*, pp. 21, 22.

An interesting account of the progress and development of Moslem architecture in Sicily at this time, as compared with that in Spain, will be found in the same work, pp. 68-100.

Of the mosque at Cordova, a brief account has been given in a former chapter of this work. It was constructed in the eighth century, and its architectural character is, above all things, simple and severe—the Arab style of Damascus and Bagdad, invested with greater dignity and with a magnificent severity by the local influence of Imperial Rome. But during the eleventh and twelfth centuries Arab art in Spain changed considerably in character. Beyond the natural and the national development and progress which is inherent in all true art, it may have been modified by Indian, by Egyptian, and by other foreign influences from Asia and Africa; and, in any case, it separated itself daily more and more from its parent, the architecture of dying Byzantium, and from the grander traditions of the more ancient Roman. Of this period of transition, interesting from so many points of view, we have unfortunately very few remnants in Spain. The sanctuary known as the Chapel of Villa Viciosa, attached to the mosque at Cordova, the Alcazar, and the Tower of the Giralda at Seville (1195) are considered by M. Girault de Prangey to be specimens of what may be called the Transition period, during which, among other changes, the stiff and formal cufic character, in which the decorative inscriptions were always written, gave place to the *Nashki*, or cursive character, that forms so striking and so characteristic a feature in the decoration of the Alhambra.

Señor Riaño, a distinguished Spanish critic of to-day, is inclined to doubt whether any existing work in Spain may be certainly attributed to that most interesting and obscure period of development between the death of Abdur Rahman an Nasir and the taking of Seville by Saint Ferdinand. The date even of the buildings that have been mentioned is most uncertain. How far they may have been changed by subsequent additions and restorations is even more hard to ascertain. And speaking generally, it is not too much to say that we know nothing of the special development of Moslem architecture in Spain during the eleventh and twelfth centuries of our era. But as soon as the thirteenth century is reached, we find a new native Arab style in the Peninsula—Moslem, no doubt, and entirely unlike the contemporary Christian architecture of Spain, yet distinctly and distinctively Spanish. And it is this style which, in the hands of the descendants of those Syrian conquerors who founded a second Damascus at Granada, reached its highest perfection on the ever-celebrated banks of the Darro.[1] It was not until the

[1] Granada was sometimes actually called Damascus. See Abulfeda, French translation (Paris, 1848), tom. ii., p. 233.

Moslem art had well-nigh forgotten the traditions of Byzantium, and revelled in its own originality, that it reached the highest pitch of perfection in the Peninsula. And if Granada did not enjoy the artistic supremacy in contemporary Europe that was universally allowed to Cordova, it was not so much that the Spanish Moslem was less powerful and his culture less directly influential, as that Europe had in two centuries become at once relatively and absolutely more civilised than before. The Christian Renaissance was at hand.[1] Yet Granada was a centre of artistic culture, less magnificent and less powerful, but no less truly artistic, and actually distinguished by a more characteristic originality and spontaneity of development, than the Cordova of the greater Caliphs. Among all the buildings, not only of Spain but of Europe, the Alhambra at Granada has long been accounted one of the greatest marvels and exemplars of superlatively graceful construction that still lives to disarm the critic, and to delight the lover of the beautiful.

The Alhambra was designed by Mohammed the Ruddy,[2] and the work, commenced by him in 1248, and carried on with zeal and good taste by his son and successor, Ibn Abdullah, was finished by his grandson, Mohammed III., about 1314. This third Mohammed also added the splendid mosque, which was destroyed only in the present century by French vandalism in 1812. Under Abdul Walid, from 1309 to 1325, and more especially under Abu Abdullah *al Ghazi* (1334 to 1351), whose name is introduced largely among the ornamental inscriptions on the walls, the decoration of the interior was completed much as it now exists to charm us after 500 years of constant neglect and ill-treatment.

To describe the indescribable is a vain task, yet a few indications of the more apparent beauties of the edifice may be attempted without impertinence. The actual construction of the Alhambra is of the rudest kind, and yet where it has been undisturbed by the hand of man, it appears almost as perfect as the day when it was executed. The walls of the towers are built of concrete, and their severe, if picturesque exterior gives

[1] It was largely the influence of Arab upon Christian art that first awoke the dormant civilisation of modern Spain. For this fine thought I am indebted to Don Juan Facundo Riaño, May, 1892.

[2] Mohammed el Ahmar was a chief of the tribe of the Beni Nasr. His name of *Ahmar*, the Red or the Ruddy, appears, strangely enough, in that of his red palace, *Al ahmara*, the Alhambra. The king, like David, was "ruddy and of a fair countenance".

no indication of the art and luxury within. They were formed externally, like the palaces of the ancient Egyptians, to impress the beholder with respect for the power and majesty of the king.[1] The grace and beauty of the interior was designed with a very different object. The inner walls are constructed of brick ;[2] the columns are of marble ; the ornamental portions are moulded in gypsum ; the mosaic pavements and dados are of baked and glazed earthenware ; and the ceilings, beams and doors are of wood. The entrances to the fortress appear to have been four, now known by the Spanish names of the *Torre de las Armas* (the Tower of Arms), *Torre de los Reyes Católicos* (the Tower of the Catholic Kings), *Torre de los siete Suelos* (the Tower of Seven Stories), and the *Puerta de Justicia*, or Gate of Justice, where the Kings of Granada sat to administer justice to every class of their subjects, and which was then, as it is now, the principal entrance into the palace. Like all the other towers of the Alhambra, it is built chiefly of concrete, the jambs of the doorway are of white marble, and the horseshoe arch, with its elegant spandrils, is of red brick.

The interior of the Alhambra, as it now exists, consists of an oblong court, with a portico of six columns at either end, and a sheet of water in the centre, which gives the name to the *Patio de la Alberca*, or Court of the Fishponds. This leads to an oblong corridor which the Spaniards called the *Sala de la barca*, the ancient Hall of Blessing.[3] Beyond this again is the yet more celebrated Hall of the Ambassadors, or Golden Saloon, a square of thirty-seven feet, sixty feet high from the floor to the centre of the dome, the largest, as well as the most imposing, of the halls of the Alhambra. At right angles to the Hall of the Fishponds, abutting on the opposite end of the Hall of the Ambassadors, is the Court of the Lions, so called from the fountain in the centre, the most perfect, and perhaps the best known portion of what remains of the palace. It is a parallelogram of 100 feet by 50, and is surrounded by a portico with small pavilions at each end. The portico and pavilions consist of 128 columns,

[1] Owen Jones, *The Alhambra* (1854), p. 23.

[2] Arab architecture, says Señor Pi y Margal, capricious and rich in the palaces, was hard, severe, inflexible in all that concerned fortifications, walls, gates, castles. D. Francisco Pi y Margal, *Granada*, 1 vol., illustrated (Barcelona, 1885), pp. 459-540.

[3] *Barkah* = blessing, an Arabic word which is many times repeated in the inscriptions on the walls. The Spaniards, having forgotten the meaning of the Arabic *Barkah*, but remembering the old name of the hall, invented the explanation of a boat-shaped room to explain their incomprehensible Barca.

supporting arches of the most delicate and elaborate finish, still retaining much of their original beauty, although the various colours of the ornaments are wanting. During the repeated restorations which the palace has from time to time undergone, the walls of this court were defaced by several coats of whitewash, beneath which it is still possible to discover traces of the original colouring. At right angles to the Court of the Lions, and in the centre of the building, are on the one side the *Sala de las dos hermanas* or Hall of the Two Sisters, on the other the Hall of the *Abencerages*, and at the end of the hall is the Court of Justice. These, with the private baths and the small Court of the Mosque, in another part of the palace, are all that remain at the present day undisturbed by the barbarous destruction, and the scarce less barbarous repairs, of successive rulers of Granada.[1]

To descant upon the varied delights of the Alhambra, even in its decay, a volume would hardly suffice. The mere mention of the Hall of the Ambassadors and the Hall of the Blessing, the Hall of the Fishponds and the Hall of the Two Sisters, the Hall of Justice and the Hall of the *Abencerages*, and the far-famed Court of the Lions, suggests beauty and grace, even to those who have not been privileged to wander through the enchanted palace.[2]

Five-and-thirty years after the departure of Boabdil, Charles V. pulled down a considerable portion of the fairy edifice to erect a modern residence for himself. But although the vandal destruction was fully accomplished in 1526, the new building was never completed, and is now to be seen, roofless and decayed, a broken toy, forgotten like the whim that suggested it, a monument only of folly, of vanity and of bad taste.

By no builders in the world, says Mr. Owen Jones, has the great rule that the architect should decorate construction, and not construct decoration, been more perfectly carried out than by the Moslem builders of the Alhambra. Every line and every curve is exactly what it should be, and where it should be; and

[1] The greatest offender, next to the Flemish Charles V., was the French General Sebastiani. M. Girault de Prangey (*op. cit.*, p. 193) calls attention to the fact that although the Alhambra is apparently the most *slightly* constructed of any of the great buildings of the world, it has successfully resisted as great or greater violence than any other—including many earthquakes.

[2] See generally A. de Beaumont, *Les Arts Decoratifs en Orient et en France* (1886); and Don Juan Facundo de Riaño, *Discurso* (Madrid, 1880), a work of special interest and originality. Upon the similarity of some forms of Persian with the Spanish modern art, especially in mural designs, see Don Garcia de Silva (Ambassador of Philip III. to the court of the Shah in 1617), published in Paris in 1668. See also Antonio Teneyro, *Itinerario* (Coimbra, 1540).

they all grow one out of another in natural as well as graceful undulations.[1] There is thus nothing excrescent, nothing that could possibly be removed without destroying the symmetry of the whole. Whether the Moors in their marvellous decoration worked on certain fixed rules, or only in accordance with a highly organised natural instinct, which they had attained by centuries of refinement and intelligent study of the works of their predecessors, we cannot tell. But as regards the colouring, we may discern at least the general rule that primary colours were used on the upper portions of the work, secondary or tertiary colours on the lower, a rule which, like all the great canons of taste, is most certainly in accordance with the law of nature.[2]

One peculiarity of the ornamentation of the Alhambra has been specially noticed by Mr. Owen Jones, and that is that although many of the ornaments or patterns are repeated in the various halls and in different positions, they always exactly fit the position that they occupy. The pattern is *never* interrupted or broken by any but a natural division. Each ornament appears specially designed and made for the particular spot in which it is found.

Of the exquisite designs that adorn every room of the palace, of the domed cupolas and the stalactite ceilings, of the glazed tiles or *azulejos* that may not be imitated even by the most skilful craftsmen of to-day, of the tracery of the windows, of the mosaic of the floors, I will not speak here. Pages might be devoted to the inscriptions alone, which are not only in the utmost degree ornamental and decorative, but served the higher purpose of directing the attention of those for whom they were displayed to nobler thoughts than any mere material beauty of form and colour. Entire poems (*ashar*) decorate the walls of the great courts of the palace, some in praise of the building itself, or of its architects, some in praise of its sovereigns, but all lofty and dignified in tone. In the shorter inscriptions that occur in the greatest profusion we find the true note of the whole, "There is no power nor strength but in God". "God is the best of protectors". "Praise to God, Eternal, Omnipotent, Merciful."

[1] In their domestic architecture the Arabs alone have almost solved the problem how to unite ventilation and ornament by means of currents of air of different temperatures. The pendulous stucco fretwork by which they conceal the angles of their apartments, serves not only for ornament, but to equalise the temperature and to admit of concealed openings whereby air can penetrate without draught or chill. Wentworth Webster, *Spain*, p. 196.

[2] Owen Jones, *The Alhambra* (ed. 1854, pp. 32, 33 and 44).

These meet our gaze at every turn, as does the most practical precept, "Be not one of the negligent". But there is one admonition of peculiar significance to the leader of a warlike and a harassed people, a text that is found so constantly upon the palace walls, that its graceful curves must be known to the most careless and ignorant of visitors. It is that which told the king, as he set out from his palace for his camp, or as he returned to his home after victory or after defeat, that *There is no conqueror but God.*

CHAPTER LXIII.

MONETARY AND COMMERCIAL SYSTEMS.

I.—*Coinage.*

The monetary system of mediæval Spain is at once complicated and uncertain, but some general notions, and a few more or less ascertained facts, may be given with advantage, the more so as coins of every conceivable name and value are spoken of by most chroniclers and historians without either explanation or apology.

The earliest coins that were struck in Spain were undoubtedly the *Drachmæ* of Emporiæ (Ampurias) and Rhodes (Rosas) in Catalonia. The female head crowned with ears of corn, the rose, the three dolphins, and the war-horse are among the commonest and most characteristic devices. The legends on the earlier pieces are in Greek, on the later in Iberian characters.[1]

Silver and copper were coined by the Carthaginians at New Carthage during their dominion in Spain; and the Romans set up mints at many of the colonial towns, especially at Saguntum.[2] From the time of Scipio Africanus *Numantinus*, until the time of Leovgild, the coinage of Hispania was the coinage of Rome.[3]

The names and values of the various Gothic pieces are alike uncertain. The workmanship is poor and inartistic; and

[1] In addition to the devices given in the text, the following are found, more rarely, on these Ibero-Hellenic coins :—

A Bee or Fly, a Ring, Tunny-fish, Bull's Head, Boar, Crescent, Lance Head, Star, Cornucopia. See *ante*, vol. i., chap. i., pp. 7, 8, 9.

[2] The coins then struck by Greeks, Iberians, Carthaginians, and more particularly by the Romans, are fully described and catalogued by Florez and such more modern authorities as Heiss, Pujol, Zobel and D. Alvara Campaner y Fuertes.

[3] No money seems to have been coined by any of the Spanish Visigoths previous to Leovgild : see *ante*, chapters viii. and xi.

Talentos or Talents, *Libri* or *Livras*, *Uncias* or *Onzas*, *Solidi* or *Sueldos*, *Besantes*, *Siliquias* and *Tremesis* are among the coins most frequently met with.[1]

But the earliest true national coins of Spain are the *Maravedi* and the *Real*, which are not heard of for more than 300 years after the rout of the Guadalete; the one telling of Moorish domination, the other of the royal (*real*) power of Roman and Christian Castile.[2]

The Moslem coins differ from those of all other dynasties in Spain in having no figure or representation of any kind stamped upon them. The legend, in Arabic, serves at once to indicate the value, the place, the date, and the city when and where the coins were struck. For some years after the conquest, the Moslems coined pieces with bilingual inscriptions, in Arabic and in Latin, for the greater convenience of the conquered; but the Latin was soon discontinued. The Arab or Moorish coins were the *Dinar*, of gold; the *Dirhem*, of silver; and the *Felus*, of copper. Fractions of the *Dinar* were also coined in silver under the name of *Quirates*. But of this coin it is impossible to know the relative, still less to estimate the actual value.[3] The Moors of Granada continued to coin money in Spain until the conquest in 1492; and the *Dobla* of Granada is first heard of as late as the reign of Mohammed III., or about the year 1330.

The first *Christian* money coined within the limits of the Peninsula after the conquest by the Arabs, was struck by order of Charlemagne, at Barcelona; and coins of his sons, Louis

[1] For a critical account of these early monies, the reader may consult *Escrutinio de Maravedises y Monedas de oro antiguas*, etc., etc., by Don Pedro de Cantos Benitez (Madrid, 1763).

[2] The etymology *Mora vedi*, as introduced by the *Al Moravides*, is given by Dozy and Engelmann, in their *Glossaire*.

A fanciful statement by Benitez, that *marevedi* is an Arabic word signifying *money*, would solve all difficulties, if it were itself founded on fact. Dufresne in his *Glossaire* would have it *Mora* and *botin* = booty of the Moor, which is almost equally fanciful. The *Mora* in the word *Moravides* has, of course, nothing to do with *Moors*.

Some notes upon the etymology of *Almoravides* will be found *ante*, vol. i., p. 202.

See also the *Chronicle of King James of Aragon*, chap. clxxix.; and note by Don Pascual de Gayangos in his edition, vol. i., p. 283, and vol. ii., p. 694. There is a learned treatise on Arab coinage and coins in Spain in vol. v. of the *Memorias de la Real Academia de Historia* of *Madrid* (1817), pp. 225-315, with plates in an appendix.

[3] The leading authority for the Moslem coins of the Peninsula is *Tratado de la Numismatica Arábigo Española*, por D. Francisco Codera y Zaidín (Madrid, 1879, 1 vol., 4to).

the Pious and Charles the Bald, *denarii* and *oboli*, were also apparently struck in the same place down to the year 874, when Charles the Bald conceded the entire sovereignty of the county of Barcelona to Wilfrid the Hairy.[1]

One of the Ramon Berenguers[2]—it is uncertain which—is said to have coined gold *Dinars* with a bilingual inscription in Arabic and Latin; but by the time of Peter III. of Aragon (1285), the typical coin of the country was the silver *Croat* or *Real*.

From the ninth to the fifteenth centuries we find in circulation at various times, Catalan, Navarrese, Aragonese, Portuguese, Valencian, Leonese and Castilian coins, with which we may not now concern ourselves; for it was the Castilian system which displaced and survived them, and became, with slight modifications, on the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, the national coinage of Spain; of which, as already suggested, the *Maravedi* and the *Real* are at once the most ancient and the most constant types.[3]

The *Maravedi* is first heard of in Spanish records at the beginning of the eleventh century (in 1020), but is not much spoken of for another hundred years. In the time of Alfonso VI., *Sueldos*, *Maravedis*, *Aureos*, and *Castellanos* are generally taken to mean the same coin, containing the sixth part of an ounce of gold, or, say, sixteen shillings of English money, or about the value of a modern French *Louis d'or*.[4] But there were also *Maravedis* or *monies* of *Vellon* or debased silver, being one eleventh part of the *Sueldo*, which contained the sixth part of an ounce of silver, such *Sueldos* or *Sols* being of about the nominal

[1] The authority for these and other early Catalonian coins is *Tratado de las Monedas Labradas en el Principado de Cataluña*, por el Doctor D. Josê Salat, 2 vols., 8vo (Barcelona, 1818).

[2] Possibly Ramon Berenguer I. For the confusion of names of these early courts, see *ante*, vol i., p. 214. *Cf. Indicator de la Numismatica Española*, por Don Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes (1 vol., Madrid, 1891, pp. 290).

[3] Señor Alvaro y Fuertes (*op. cit.*, 466), speaks of a gold maravedi with an Arabic inscription of the time of Alfonso VIII. (1214). *Dineros* and other coins of silver and of *Vellon* appear about the same time. *Vellon*, a word of very uncertain etymology, akin to Fr. *Billon*, means, in Spanish, primarily a fleece of wool; and thus a *mass* of anything metallic; and thence metal alloyed as opposed to pure metal; and the word is conventionally taken to mean alloyed or debased silver of uncertain standard or value. The English word *Bullion*, apparently cognate, is really a word of very different origin, although one signification of each word is as similar as the appearance of the word itself.

[4] King James of Aragon, in his *Chronicle*, chap. xxiv., and again, chap. clxxix., speaks of *Morabatins*, which Don Pascual de Gayangos translates *maravedis de oro*, value about eleven shillings sterling.

value of a modern franc, or one-twentieth of a *maravedi* of gold. Their value was fixed by an ordinance of Alfonso VI. in 1090, the coins being spoken of as *Sueldos de plata pesante*. The so-called silver *maravedi*, which was made of some alloy of copper or *Vellon*, would have been thus worth something less than an English penny. The *Maravedi* of gold was known as the *Maravedi mayor;* the minor maravedis were of various weights and names, and to make the confusion still greater, there were also *Sueldos* not only of silver, but of gold!

Alfonso X., although he debased the silver coinage and added seriously to the existing uncertainty of exchange, not only coined gold maravedis of the ancient value, but he refers to them frequently in the laws of the *Siete Partidas*,[1] and the coin is called by Benitez "the key to, and standard of, all the contemporary coinage". These gold maravedis were familiarly known as *Alfonsos*, and afterwards as *Buenos*. Alfonso also coined for the first time true silver *Maravedis* or *Burgaleses*, worth one-sixth of a gold maravedi, as well as maravedis of inferior standard, of silver and of *Vellon*, known as *Blancos*, *Burgaleses* or *Novenos*. He also coined copper or black maravedis—*Negros* or *Prietos*—in addition to those of debased vellon, as well as other coins of inferior and very uncertain value.[2]

The *Real* was originally a fraction of a *Maravedi*, but in course of time it became the chief unit of value in Spain, and represented the sum of many maravedis. The first *Real* of which we have any certain knowledge was struck by Henry II. on the 15th of May, 1369, as a *Real de plata*, of the value of three maravedis.[3]

By the end of the fourteenth century the Castilian coinage had got into a state of hopeless confusion. The number of coins described by a modern writer as known and current in Castile during the reign of Henry III. is no less than 140![4] In the

[1] *Cronica de Don Alfonso X.*, chap. i.; and see, for instance, *Partida*, vii., *titulo* xxxiii., ley 2; and Benitez, 50-52.

[2] Benitez, *op. cit.*, 46-76. After 1433 we hear nothing of the *Burgaleses*.

[3] In 1281 the *Maravedi* of gold was worth six *Maravedis Burgaleses*, or fifteen *Sueldos Burgaleses* or *Dineros Prietos*, or sixty *Maravedis Novenos*, or seventy-five *Sueldos Comunes*, or ninety *Dineros Burgales*, or 180 *Dineros Pepiones*, or 600 *Dineros Novenos*. Heiss, i., 39-42. As to *Doblas*—doubloons—of gold, Moorish coins of *double* the value of some inferior coins, see Benitez, chapters xiii., xiv. They were introduced by Yusuf the Almoravide, in 1097, and were known also as Maroquines = of Morocco. Later on, the doblas or doubloons were called *Granadinas*.

[4] Saez, *Demonstracion de Monedas*, ed. 1796.

same reign there were as many as *twenty-eight* different florins—coined in various countries of Europe—current in Spain, varying in value from seven reals vellon (*florin pequeño de Grecia*), or, say 1s. 6d., to 22 reals (*florin of Florence*), or, say 4s. 6d. The facile reference to "*so many* thousand florins" in historical works is thus hardly calculated to enlighten the inquisitive reader as to the importance of the sum of money supposed to have been received or paid.

In the reign of Henry IV. of Castile the principal current coins, with their values, were: In gold, the *Doblon* or *Mouton*, worth from 37 to 38 maravedis, or 60 modern reals, say 12s.; the *Gold Crown*, from 35 to 36 maravedis, say 11s.; the *Ducat*, from 32 to 33 maravedis, say 10s. 6d.; and the *Florin*, about 21 maravedis, or say 6s. 9d. In silver, the *Real de plata* was equal to two reals vellon, or three old or standard maravedis, say fivepence sterling. In copper, the old or standard *Maravedi* was reckoned at one-third, and the new *Maravedi* at one-eighth of the silver real.[1]

Ferdinand and Isabella within a few years of their marriage set themselves vigorously to work to put an end to this monstrous and hopeless confusion, and according to the decrees of the Cortes of Madrigal, in 1476, the currency was reformed by the coinage of *Florins of Aragon*, *Castellanos* and *half-Castellanos*, *Gold Crowns* or *Doubloons*, *Eagles*, *Gold Excelentes* and *half-Excelentes*, *Ducats* and *Cruzados*.

In the year 1475 a decree was issued that all coins should pass at a certain and fixed value as follows: The *Enrique Castellano* at 435 maravedis; the *Dobla* at 335; the *Dobla de la Banda* at 375; the *Florin* at 240; the *Silver Real* at 30; and the *Maravedi* at 3 *Blancas de Vellon*.

[1] The standard work on mediæval and modern Spanish coins is A. Heiss, *Descripcion general de las monedas Hispano-Cristianas desde la invasion de los Arabes* (Madrid, 1869), 3 vols., large 4to; but the author takes no account of values, save of the fancy values of the coins at the present day in the hands of the collector.

I have constructed the following Table chiefly from Saez, *op. cit.*, ed. 1796:—

6 *meajas*	= 1 DINERO	see page	37
6 *dineros*	= 1 AGNUS DEI	,,	68
10 *dineros*	= 1 MARAVEDI	,,	54
6 *coronados*	= 1 ,,	,,	65
12 *cinquens*	= 1 ,,	,,	75
2 *blancas*	= 1 ,,	,,	82
3 *maravedis*	= 1 REAL PLATA	,,	116
21 ,,	= FLORIN OF ARAGON	,,	129
32 ,,	= DUCAT	,,	153
35 ,,	= DOUBLOON or MOUTON	,,	208-225

But even these statutory values were liable to constant change. By a *Cedula Real* of 19th March, 1483, the *Excelente* was fixed at 970 maravedis; the *Castellano* at 485, and so on, while in another ordinance only five years later (1488) we find that the *gold* coins current were *Excelentes* and *half-Excelentes* of 123 reals vellon; *Castellanos* of 61½ reals vellon; *Cruzados*, *Ducados*, or *Excelentes de Granada* at 47 reals vellon; *Doblas de la banda* at 52; *Doblas* at 56; *Florines de Aragon* at 33; *Florins* of Florence and *Salutes* at 47; *Justos* at 72; *Coronas* at 39; *Enriques* and *Aquilas* at 61.

It may interest students of the bimetallic question to know that the relative value of gold and silver in Spain in 1475 was 1 to 11, or more accurately 1-10·985; in 1480 it was 1-11½; in 1483 it was 1-11¾; and in 1489 it was 1-10¾.

To lay down anything like a general standard of value of the coins of such complicated and such strangely uncertain systems, is obviously impossible; but the ordinary English reader will not be very far astray, if in considering the financial operations of the days of Ferdinand and Isabella, he treats the *Excelente* as about equal to the modern French twenty franc piece; the *Medio excelente*, *Castellano*, *Dobla Morisca* and *Enrique* at about half that sum; the *Ducat*, *Cruzado*, *Dobla de la banda*, *Excelente de Granada*, *Florin of Florence*, and *Salute*, as worth about six shillings; the *Crown* or *Corona*, about five shillings and sixpence; the *Florin of Aragon*, about four shillings and twopence; and the *Silver Real*, at five English pence.[1]

[1] As some knowledge of Spanish coinage and values in the early part of the present century may be interesting for the purpose of comparison—the coinage of the present day having been Frenchified out of recognition—it may be added that in 1810-70—

COPPER.

		£	s.	d.
2 Maravedis make 1	*Ochavo.*			
4 ,, ,,	*Cuarto.*			

SILVER.

34 Maravedis make 1	*Real Vellon* (RV)	0	0	2½
4 Reals ,, 1	*Peseta*	0	0	10
10 ,, ,, 1	*Escudo*	0	2	1
20 ,, ,, 1	*Doble escudo*, *Duro*, *Peso fuerte*, or *Ducado* ...	0	4	2

GOLD.

40 ,, ,, 1	*Escudo de oro*	0	8	4
80 ,, ,, 1	*Doblon de á* 2, or quarter-*onza*	0	16	8
160 ,, ,, 1	*Doblon de á* 4, or half-*onza*	1	13	4
320 ,, ,,	*Doblon de á* 8 ["Piece of Eight"] or *onza* ...	3	6	8

The decimal system of *Pesetas* (about equal to the French franc) and *Centimos* was adopted on the 1st of January, 1870.

II.—*Commercial Treaties.*

(1308—1508.)

Between two such business-like sovereigns as Ferdinand the Catholic and Henry VII. of England, it is not likely that commercial relations should have been neglected. The letters of both Ferdinand and Isabella to the envoys at the court of London are filled with suggestions for the reform and modification of existing methods and practices, with remonstrances at the delays and the bad faith of the English court, and with the constant expression of an urgent desire for the promotion of a healthy commerce between Spain and England.

The first commercial treaty between England and any Spanish power is said to have been concluded by Edward II. with Alfonso XI. of Leon and Castile, in 1318.[1] Notwithstanding the troubles of the kingdom, the Castilians were already powerful at sea; and "very potent in shipbuilding".[2] We read that in 1350, the Spaniards had not only taken and destroyed many English merchant ships and much merchandise, "but were now arrived at so high a pitch of pride, that they threatened nothing less than the destruction of the entire English Navy, the invasion of the country and the subjugation of the people of England".[3] But as time went on, the intercourse between the nations became of a more peaceful character, and we hear of a treaty or agreement in 1464, between Edward IV. and Henry IV., for the export to Spain of twenty ewes and five rams from the Cotswolds in Gloucestershire. This peaceful invasion was actually accomplished, and the emigrants are said to have flourished and multiplied exceedingly in their new home.[4]

As to the nature of the commerce between England and the Peninsula in the middle of the fifteenth century, the following verses from Hakluyt may be of interest:—[5]

> Knowe well all men that profits in certaine
> Commodities called comming out of Spaine,
> And merchandie, who so will weete what it is
> Bene *figs*, *Raisins*, *Wine Bastard*, *and Datis*,

[1] Rymer, *Fœdera*, etc., iv., p. 118; Anderson, *Hist. of Commerce*, i., 381, 382.

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, v., 679; Anderson, *op. cit.*, ed. 1790, i., 433.

[3] On pp. 717, 720, of vol. v. of Rymer's *Fœdera*, we find mention of a treaty or truce, by which the fishers of Castile and Biscay may freely and safely *fish in the havens* of England; a very remarkable provision.

[4] Anderson, i., 340, 369, 433.

[5] Hakluyt, *Voyages and Travels*, vol. i., p. 118 (ed. 1600), and p. 189.

And *Licoris*, *Sivilloyle* and *Graine*
White Pastill Sope and *Waxe* is not bayne
Yron, *Wooll*, *Wadmolle*, *Gotefell*, *Kidfell* also,
For *poynt-makers* full needful bene they tweyn,
Saffron, *Quicksilver* which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flandes shipped full craftily.
As to Portugal . . . .
Her land hath *Wine*, *Osey*, *Waxe* and *Graine*.[1]

"From Flanders," says Hakluyt in the same place, "the Spanish ships lade homewards fine cloth of Ypres and of Courtray of all colours, much fustian, and also linen cloth. Thus," says he, "if we be masters at sea, both Spain and Flanders, which have such a mutual dependence on each other, must necessarily keep measures with us; and if England should think fit to deny to Flanders her wool and tin, and should also prevent the Spanish wool, which they work up with English wool, from getting to Flanders, the last named small country will soon be starved."

From a rescript of Henry IV. of England, of the year 1420,[2] it appears that Alfonso V. of Aragon, had granted letters of safe conduct and protection to all English merchants freely to resort to his dominions with their ships and merchandise, and that Henry V. of England granted the same privilege to the subjects of the King of Aragon.[3] But the rights of commerce, more especially of international commerce, were hardly recognised in western Europe as early as the fifteenth century. There were merchant princes, indeed, in Venice and Genoa; and Barcelona, as we have seen,[4] had already given a code of mercantile law to the civilised world;[5] yet peaceful diplomacy, of what may be called a practical kind, was still in its infancy. The Spanish sailors were amongst the most adventurous in Christendom. The Spanish merchants were amongst the most renowned in the waters of the West. But the age of rapine had not yet given place to an age of business. The merchant was not yet recognised as the true knight-errant of civilisation; and his movements were

[1] *Wine bastard* is sweet wine; *Sivilloyle* is Seville or olive oil; *Graine* is cochineal (Sp. *grana*); *Pastill Sope* is Castile soap; *Wax* was no doubt largely imported from Spain; the word is sometimes misspelt *ware*; *Wadmol* was coarse woollen cloth; *Gotefell* and *Kidfell* are of course goat or kid-skin or leather; *poynt-makers* were the workmen who made points or mediæval braces for trunk hose; and, finally, *Osey* was a kind of wine.

[2] Rymer, *Fœdera*, ix., 633.

[3] Anderson, i., 566, speaks of English merchants already, at this time, trading with Barcelona.

[4] *Ante*, vol. i., chap. xxiv.

[5] *Calendar*, etc., i., p. 133.

neither helped nor hindered by any rules of international law. The theory of maritime blockade, for instance, was not understood nor developed even amongst the most civilised nations of Europe; and merchants of neutral states were at liberty to enter the ports of any belligerent, and export goods thence to any other port they chose.

But this theoretical liberty was limited in practice by the number of pirates of all nations and countries which then infested the seas, and by the readiness of the authorities of all nations to lay violent hands upon the ships and goods of foreign merchants, that might happen, at a critical moment, to be found within their dominions. In the early days of the sixteenth century, the Moslem sea-rovers of the Mediterranean, and especially of the Straits of Gibraltar, had already acquired a dreadful celebrity. But although the banishment of the Moors of Granada added to the numbers and increased the fury of these desperadoes, the practice of piracy was not by any means restricted to Moors and Infidels. When a ship of one Christian nation fell in with a strange vessel on the high seas, a fight generally ensued; the cargo became the spoil of the victor; and the only difference between Infidels and Christians was found in the treatment of the vanquished crew. The Infidels made slaves of them, and sold them into bondage. The Christians, having no ready market for such commodities, regarded them as useless and costly incumbrances, and threw them overboard.

But Ferdinand was early aware of the importance of a well-regulated and a well-trained commerce. Both the theoretical freedom and the practical restrictions of the fifteenth century were equally distasteful to him, and were by him attacked with the greatest vigour, and even with some success. During his second war with France, seeking, among other things, to compel the English to assist him by an active alliance, he took the bold and original step of prohibiting the transport of Spanish goods in neutral bottoms to any port in France;[1] and by an ordinance

[1] "As the English shipmasters derived great advantage by the carriage of merchandise between France and Spain, from whose ports both the Spaniards and the French were excluded during the war, Ferdinand feared that Henry VII. would be the more disinclined to participate in the contest if the source of national gain was to be jeopardised by joining one of the combatants. He consequently prohibited neutrals from transporting Spanish goods to France." *Calendar*, etc., i., Introduction, p. 113.

Pragmatica of 3rd September, 1500 (Granada); *Prag. del Reyno*, fol. 135. The Spanish merchant navy at this time is said to have amounted to no less than 1000 vessels. Campomanes, *apud* Robertson, *Hist. of America*, vol. iii., p. 305.

of 1500, all persons, whether natives or foreigners, were further prohibited from shipping goods in foreign bottoms from any port in Spain where a Spanish ship could be obtained.[1] With regard to piracy, he further proposed, as a general measure of international security, which was promptly accepted by most of the nations of Europe, that the master of every vessel on leaving port should give security for good behaviour at sea towards any vessel belonging to a friendly nation that he might happen to meet.[2]

Having succeeded so far, Ferdinand, more enlightened in such respects than any other European sovereign, attempted to put a stop to another serious hindrance to commerce. He declared that the obligation imposed on merchants to answer with their private property for the acts of their governments was dishonest and useless, and he urged its general abolition. But not even Henry VII. could be prevailed upon to accept this most practical suggestion; and the old custom of making the merchant's goods lying in foreign ports responsible for the fulfilment of treaties, continued to be enforced by the European Powers for many years after the death of the Catholic king.[3]

[1] Rymer, xii., 417; Anderson, i., 699, 700.

[2] *Calendar*, etc., i,, Introd., p. 113.

[3] As to the trade between Spain and England at this time, see Turner, *Hist. of Eng.*, iv., p. 90; and *Pragmaticas del Reyno*, ffs. 146-8. An English consulate was established at Burgos, 21st July, 1494. The *Calendar of State Papers* (Spain, 1485-1509, ed. 1862), so often referred to, is full of records of the great political interest taken both by Ferdinand and Henry VII. in the smallest details as well as in the largest principles of commerce.

CHAPTER LXIV.

THE BULL FIGHT.

The reign of John II. was an age of pageantry and of shows. If fighting was not yet out of fashion, it was accompanied by an amount of display that was new to the warriors of Castile. Gilded armour and nodding plumes became as necessary to the ideal cavalier as the sharp sword and the strong lance of his grandfathers. John, who was incapable of command on the field of battle, took some pleasure in military parade. Nor was the influence of Alvaro de Luna in any way more marked than in his encouragement of that personal magnificence and extravagant display which characterised the knightly shows and tournaments so congenial to the court of John II. of Castile.[1]

But Alvaro was no carpet knight, nor content with the evolutions of his train of gilded followers. He was himself the best lance in Spain, and specially distinguished in a rude and dangerous sport that was daily increasing in favour, not only with the court, but with the people in Spain, and which has endured to the present day as one of the most characteristic of the national amusements of the world.

Bull fights or, more correctly, *Corridas* or *Fiestas de Toros*, Courses, or Feasts of Bulls, are not, as might be supposed, a direct survival of those Roman games of the amphitheatre which in many ways they so closely resemble. We have, indeed, negative evidence of the most convincing kind that no bull fight, or bull feast, or bull combat of any kind was known in Spain until after the coming of the Moors. Suetonius and Silius Italicus,[2] in their detailed description of the Spanish games in the arena, make no mention of bulls, nor is anything in the nature of a public combat between men and bulls referred to by Polybius, or Strabo, or Appian, or Pliny in their various accounts of the *Cosas*

[1] Such, for instance, as the *Paso honroso*, as to which see *ante*, chap. xxxiv.

[2] Suetonius, *Julius Cæsar*, 39, and *Claudius*, 21 ; Silius Italicus, xvi., 285.

de España of their time.[1] The Romans were acquainted, indeed, with a form of bull fight—not an Hispanian, but a Thessalian sport; and one first exhibited by Julius Cæsar during his dictatorship in B.C. 45. Bruncke has preserved an epigram of Philip of Thessalonica, the poet laureate of bulls, which describes the process: "The well-mounted troops of unarmed bull-drivers, spurring their horses up to the bounding bulls, throw the noose over their horns, and bring to the ground the powerful beast".[2] Richard Ford is inclined to trace the origin of the bull fight of Spain to the African and Moorish hunting of the wild boar.[3] There is certainly frequent mention in the early Spanish Chronicles of the public baiting of the *Cerdos*, and on the advance of agricultural civilisation, the bull presented no doubt a more ready and more formidable antagonist.

Yet if bulls were never slain or baited by men in any of the ancient combats in the arena, and if the *Corrida*, now so essentially Roman in its character, is yet of Moorish and not of Latin origin, there can be no doubt that in Spain—for 600 years the most Roman of the provinces of the empire—there is still sufficient of Roman sentiment, if not of Roman tradition, to connect the modern bull feast in the ring at Seville with the gladiatorial shows in the arena at Italica. The bulls may have come from Africa; the cavaliers may have had their origin at Damascus; but the savage solemnity, the orderly excitement, the whole form and feeling of the modern spectacle, are the heritage of Imperial Rome.

Whatever may have been its origin, the great national sport would seem to have been fairly established in Spain as early as the eleventh century, though the first specific mention of

[1] In a recent work by Dr. Schuchhardt, *Schliemanns's Exploration* (1891), some drawings may be found of still more ancient bulls. On a coin of Catana, a bull is being attacked by a man in a way that recalls the celebrated feat of *El Tato* at Madrid; and on a gold cup found at Vapheio, near Sparta, a most spirited group of four wild bulls just caught in a net, shows an early appreciation of a *Corrida de Toros* by the Aryans of some 3000 years ago. There are many designs in which the bull is introduced upon the wall paintings found at Tiryns. See Schuchhardt, pp. 119-22, 249, 350-1, and illustrations. Martial, a true Spaniard, makes frequent mention of the fighting qualities of the contemporary *Tauri* in his epigrams, more especially in his *De Spectaculis*, *Ep.*, 16, 17, 19, 27. (Livy also tells us, "*per eos dies, quibus hæc ex Hispania nunciata sunt, ludi taurilia per Viduum facti, religionis causâ*".—H.)

[2] Bruncke, *Analecta*, tom. ii., Phil. Ep., 62. This "*modo de enlazar los toros desde el caballo*," is the precise method of the *gauchos* in the Pampas, and is shown in the ninth plate of Pepe Illo's *Tauromaquia*, edited by Gomez (1804). (There is, however, no doubt that bull fights similar to the Spanish combats were known in Rome, and that the bulls were killed. See Festus' account of the origin of these fights in the reign of Tarquin the Proud.—H.)

[3] *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii.

a bull feast is of that which took place at Avila, in 1107, on the occasion of the marriage of Blasco Muñoz, where Moors and Christians vied with one another in their prowess in the bull ring ;[1] and at the royal wedding of Alfonso VII. with Berengaria, daughter of Ramon Berenguer III., Count of Barcelona, in 1128, we read of a *Fiesta de Toros* as one of the great events in the festivities.[2]

From an ordinance in the *Fueros* of Zamora, referred to by Montes, it seems certain that in the thirteenth century there was already a Plaza de Toros in that city.[3] There can scarcely be a stronger testimony to the attractions of the bull fight in the earliest times than the fact that, in one of the laws of the *Siete Partidas*,[4] it is ordained that no bishop should be a spectator of such games.

Peter the Cruel inherited his father's love for the bull fight. And it may be remembered that at a *Fiesta* given in his honour in 1351 at Burgos, the body of Garcilaso de la Vega, whom he had just killed, was thrown out of the window of his palace, which overlooked the great square of the city, and trampled upon by the bulls. The feasts were continued by the king's brother and successor, Henry of Trastamara ; and we hear that the Count Pero el Niño—the Spanish Sydney—distinguished himself greatly at a *Corrida* which was held at Seville in 1395. To come nearer home, the Lady Constance, daughter of King Peter the Cruel and wife of John of Gaunt, established a "bull running" or *Corrida de toros,* at her English country seat near Tutbury, in Staffordshire, which took place every year on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, until it was discontinued, little over a hundred years ago, in 1778, in consequence of some men having been killed in the course of the rough festivities.[5]

[1] *Hist. de Avila*, ii., 37.

[2] The first of national bull fighters is said by Moratin, *Origen de las Fiestas de Toros* (1777), p. 8, to have been the great national hero, Ruy Diaz de Bivar (the Cid), who died in 1099. Pigs or boars, too, seem also to have been exposed to the lances of the knights in public combat on this as on many former occasions. Francisco de Cepeda, *Resumpta de la historia de España ;* Montes, *Tauromaquia Completa* (ed. 1836), p. 3 ; Manuel Garcia, *Epitome de las Recreaciones Publicas*, 226.

[3] According to *Las Siete Partidas*, ii., ley 57. "*Los Prelados no deven ver a los lidios de toros.*" *Cf.* Montes, pp. 6, 7.

[4] Bull fighting is said to have also existed in early days in Italy, but to have been prohibited in consequence of a series of fatal accidents in 1332.

[5] See Stebbing Shaw, *History of Staffordshire*, vol. i., pp. 52-56 ; Plot, *Natural History of Staffordshire*, 436-440 ; *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 392 ; Dugdale, *Monastic Angl.*, ii., 355 ; Blount, *Antient Tenures*, p. 168-175.

In Spain the bull feasts received a new impetus in the patronage of King John II., or rather of his accomplished master, Alvaro de Luna, the best lance in Spain. The combatants became more skilful. The shows became more costly. A permanent bull ring was established at Madrid. At the marriage festivities of King John with Mary of Aragon in 1418, the bull fights at Medina del Campo were of peculiar interest and splendour. In these still early days of the sport, the combatants were not salaried *matadores* and *picadores*, but the flower of Castilian chivalry. Under Henry IV. the shows were increasingly patronised. Christians, moreover, vied with Moorish horsemen in their boldness and skill in the arena, and *torear à cavallo* was accounted as an indispensable accomplishment of a perfect knight.[1] Montes gives three reasons for the great development of the *corrida* in the time of John II.: (1) the spirit of bravery animating the Spanish knights; (2) the personal interest, not merely as spectators, but frequently as combatants, taken by the kings;[2] (3) the emulation between the Christian and the Moorish nobles of Granada, not only in war but in the arena.

Isabella the Catholic took no pleasure in the sport; and she was only induced to abandon her first intention of prohibiting the *Fiestas* altogether, by a promise on the part of the noble bull fighters at her court that the horns of the bulls should be blunted or rendered harmless by being enveloped in leathern sheaths.[3] But this mitigation of the severity of the encounter seems to have been adopted but for a very short time; and in a letter to her confessor, Fray Hernando de Talavera, written from Aragon in 1493, the queen speaks of her determination never to see a bull fight in all her life, *ni ser en que se corran.* Charles V. inherited none of the scruples of his grandmother; and he is said to have killed a bull with his own Imperial hands[4] in the Plaza

An account of contemporary bull fights in Spain, as judged by English writers, will be found in Clarendon's *Life*, i., 176; and Townsend's *Travels in Spain*, ii., 349.

[1] "*Empleo de la premiera nobleza.*" Moratin, *Origen de las Fiestas de Toros* (1777). (This was the case for centuries after the time in question. In the royal bull fights (*fiestas reales*) even to this day the *Caballeros en plaza* attack the bull with rejones (short spears) and the great nobles fight—usually by proxy—in the ring.—H.)

[2] The Plaza de Toros at *Vivarambla*, near Granada, was the scene of many of these *international corridas.*

[3] Montes, p. 8, quoting Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo.

[4] Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, is said to have been a distinguished bull fighter.

de Toros at Valladolid, in honour of the birth of his eldest son, who succeeded him as Philip II.

Philip III. built a new bull ring at Madrid, in 1619;[1] and Philip IV. was not only a patron of the sport, but took part on horseback, lance in hand, on more than one occasion, in the arena; and a number of works on the art of Tauromachy were published with his royal approbation and authority. The bull fight given by Philip IV. on the occasion of the visit of Charles, Prince of Wales, in 1623, was even more remarkable than that offered by his father, Philip III., to Lord Nottingham, in 1604; and a celebrated matador, disguised as a lady,[2] astonished the strangers by his unfeminine vigour in the arena.

Gaspar Bonifaz, Luis de Trejo, and Juan de Valencia, all of them knights of the most illustrious Order of Santiago, published treatises on Tauromachy in Madrid in the early part of the seventeenth century. In 1643, Gregorio de Tapia y Salcedo, also a knight of Santiago, published a large work on the same subject, with plates, entitled *Reglas de Torear*.[3] But no book on what may be called *modern* Tauromachy (*los de á pié*) was written until 1750, when Eugenio Garcia de Baragaña published his *Tauromaquia* at Madrid.

A long list of grandees, distinguished by their personal prowess in the arena under the later sovereigns of the House of Austria, is given in 1777 by Moratin, whose own maternal grandfather is said to have been "*muy diestro y aficionado*," and to have fought many times in the company of the Marquis de Mondejar, the Count de Tendilla, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and other grandees of the bluest blood in Spain. These bold noblemen, says Moratin, "cared little how their saddles were girthed, as the true girth of a true cavalier should be the legs of the rider!"

The reign of Philip IV. was the time of the greatest perfection and glory of the old knightly sport. His feeble son Charles II. found more pleasure in the spectacle of the *auto de fé*, although he by no means despised the gentler sport of the bull ring; and at a special *corrida* in honour of his marriage in 1680, the Duke of Medina Sidonia killed in the royal presence

[1] There was at this time no special bull ring. The Plaza Mayor it was—the great square of Madrid where the feasts took place three times a year—that was rebuilt by Philip III. at the date mentioned.—H.

[2] See *An Impartial and Brief Description of the Plaza at Madrid and the Bull Baiting there*, by James Salgado (London, 1683). Martial (*de Spect.*, vi.) saw a real Roman lady kill a real lion in the arena.

[3] D. Diego de Torres published about this time a work on Tauromachy, of which no copy is known to exist, a possible prize for a lucky book-hunter.

two bulls, each one at a single blow.[1] But with the arrival of the Bourbon Philip V., French fashions and French tastes took possession of Spanish society; and the bull fight, the national sport of the old Spanish chivalry, was abandoned by a Frenchified *noblesse* to the common people. And it was then and there that the art of fighting on foot began to be studied in the place of the braver sport of knightly skill and noble horsemanship. Yet we read of a particularly magnificent *Fiesta de Toros* held at Madrid on 30th July, 1725, at which both the king and queen were present; and of another equally magnificent display on the public entry of Charles III. into Madrid in 1760. But as far as the popular and everyday *Fiestas* were concerned, the solemnity and good order of the ancient combats gave place for a time to a rough-and-tumble exhibition of untutored popular bull baiting.[2]

The first *professional* matadors of renown were the brothers Juan and Pedro Palomo and Francisco de Romero, in the early part of the eighteenth century, after the accession of the Bourbons had caused the sport to be abandoned by the aristocracy. But the master hand who reorganised the sport on popular lines, and rendered the *Fiesta de Toros* more than ever the national pastime of Spain, was José Delgado Candido, better known and ever celebrated as *Pepe Illo*, who died in the Plaza at Port St. Mary on the 24th of June, 1771, after having established the rules and fixed the code of Tauromachian honour and etiquette, and the discipline and refinement of the ring, which prevail to this day.[3]

But it was reserved for Ferdinand VII. (or his wretched minister Calomarde.—H.), not generally renowned as a patron of education, to restore and regenerate the national sport, not by inducing the degenerate nobles of his palace to take their places in the arena, but by the establishment of a Tauromachian University at Seville. The identical courier, who brought the decree from Ferdinand to close the regular university at Seville, in 1830, conveyed the royal charter of the new *Tauromaquian* Academy, which Spain, in the words of Moratin, "owes to the tender solicitude and paternal care of our lord the king—a school where the art is taught on principle, and where we have

[1] In this famous feast the celebrated Swede, Count Koningsmark, the lover of George I.'s wife, was seriously wounded.—H.

[2] Spoken of as *desjarretar por la plebe*, by Montes, p. 15.

[3] Chapman and Buck, *Wild Spain*, p. 59.

seen with delight the progress made by the first disciples".[1] This tender solicitude bore good fruit; and at a state exhibition on the 22nd of June, 1833, the king witnessed a combat of bulls and nobles, differing only from the Tauromachian tourneys of more ancient days, in that the dukes and counts who descended into the arena were *assisted* by professional matadores in the guise of squires, upon whom naturally fell the brunt of the fray.[2]

Bull fighting is now a science as well as an art. It has its rules, its traditions, its professors, its literature, and even its language. Its practice demands the highest qualities of skill, dexterity and courage. As a spectacle it is the most exciting; as a show it is the most characteristic; as a pastime it is the most seductive in the modern world. It is less cruel than a battue of pheasants. It is more respectable than an *auto de fé* of heretics. It is less demoralising than a ring of bookmakers. It is essentially and incidentally a thing of Spain. To defend it in a foreign language is useless. To import it into a foreign country would be wicked. A description of the show itself would be out of place in a historical work. An examination of its language would need a special treatise. A comparison of both action and vocabulary with the records of the gladiatorial shows of ancient Rome would be a work of special, but not, perhaps, of general interest.[3] But a history of Spain without reference to the bull fight would be like a salad without oil, or an olla without garlic.[4]

[1] Moratin, *op. cit.*, p. 28; *Quarterly Review*, vol. lxii., p. 286. The inscription over the doorway was, FERDINANDO VII., PIO FELIZ RESTAURADOR; PARA LA ENSENANZA PRESERVADORA DE LA ESCUELA DE TAUROMACHIA, 1830.

[2] The grandees were the Dukes of Frias, Alva, Infantado, and the Count of Florida Blanca. (The nobles had been attended by experts in the ring for at least 150 years before this date. Count Koningsmark's life had been saved by his assistant.—H.)

[3] As late as the year 1726 it was customary to plant the banderillas in the bull's neck—these single banderillas were called harpones—not in pairs as at the present day, but one by one; a very inferior display of skill on the part of the *Banderillero*. The first *torero* who used the little red handkerchief on the crutch of the present day (*la muleta*) and awaited the attack of the bull, on foot, and face to face, was Francisco Romero of Ronda. See D. Manuel Martinez Rueda, *Elogia de las Corridas de Toros* (1831).

[4] For an interesting account of a branch of the bull feast hitherto almost unnoticed—*viz.*, the breeding of the bulls, their selection and preparation for the combat; for every bull has his name like a race-horse, and his pedigree is as well known to the fancy—see *Wild Spain*, by Chapman and Buck (London, 1893), pp. 54-70. See also *Las Corridas de Toros en el Reinado de Felipe IV.*, printed in tom. ii. of the *Curiosidades de la Historia de España*, by Antonio Rodriquez Villa (Madrid, 1886), pp. 275 *ad fin*, and two recent works by Don Pascual Millan, *La Escuela de Tauromaquia* (1888), and *Los Toros en Madrid* (1890), with a preface by the renowned Lagartijo.

CHAPTER LXV.

SPANISH MUSIC.

I.

The Spaniards of the Roman world, as we learn from Juvenal, from Statius, from Pliny, from Martial and from Arrian,[1] were distinguished among all other provincials by their skill in the art of music. Yet this relative excellence is all that we may certainly know upon the subject; for owing to the absence of any system of writing down or noting the musical sounds[2] they may have produced, we are necessarily ignorant of the character of the melodies, or the development of vocal or instrumental harmony among the early *virtuosi* of the Peninsula.

The history of music in Spain may be said to begin with St.

[1] And see Teixidor, *Hist. de la Musica;* and Aulus Gellius, *apud* Soriano Fuertes, *Historia de la Musica en España*, pp. 46-51.

[2] The origin of musical notation is a question of general interest far beyond the limits of this chapter. See *post*, pp. 340, 341. The credit of its invention is claimed by the Jews of the Peninsula (Soriano Fuertes, *op. cit.*, p. 66). It is at least probable that a system more or less complete existed in Spain in the seventh century, which was known as the Rabbinical or Hebrew. Cassiodorus, in 540, preparing a manual of sacred music for his monks, only mentions the fifteen tonal scales (*échelles tonales*) of the neo-Aristoxenians. Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica*, lib. i., chap. v., p. 15. Eighty years later, St. Isidore is content to adopt the theory of Cassiodorus, while actually denying the possibility of any graphic record or representation of fleeting sounds.

See as to early musical notation (1) Gerbert, *De cantû et musica sacra a primâ ecclesiæ ætate usque ad præsens tempus*, 1774, tom. ii., tab. 10, No. 2; (2) *Breviarium Gothicum secundum regulam Beatissimi Isidori: ad usum Sacelli Mosarabum* (Madrid, 1775), Introd. par D. J. Romero; (3) Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, i., 505-513.

Señor Soriano Fuertes somewhat strains one of the canons of the Eleventh Council of Toledo (A.D. 675) by interpreting it to mean that no man should be admitted to Holy Orders who could not read music. But that the mass and psaltery were sung from written music of some sort would seem to be fairly proved; although I do not think that so early an origin is usually admitted by musical students. See Berganza, *Antiguedades de España*, ii., and Martini, *Hist. de la Musica*, ii., 3.

Isidore of Seville.[1] His chapters on the art, nine in number, are to be found in the third book of his *Etymologies*, where he treats not only of the theory and scientific attributes of music, but mentions certain instruments by name, as being those in use at the time he wrote: *Organum*, organ; *Tuba*, straight trumpet; *Tibia*, flute or pipe; *Fistula*, shepherd's pipe; *Sambuca*, a triangular stringed instrument of a high pitch; *Pandura*, a three-stringed instrument, supposed to have been invented by Pan; *Cithara*, a stringed instrument played with a plectrum; *Psalterius*, a psaltery or lute; *Lyra*, a lyre; *Tympanum*, drum; *Cymbala*, cymbal; *Sistrum*, a metallic rattle; *Tintinnabulum*, bell; *Symphonia*, a species of hurdy-gurdy or *organistrum*, such perhaps as is figured on the carved portico of the Cathedral of Santiago.[2]

St. Isidore is usually considered to be the author of the ancient tunes adapted to the Ritual or Service Book in Spanish churches, which were afterwards modified by St. Eugenius, who succeeded Isidore, after an interval of only ten years, as Metropolitan Bishop of Toledo (646-657); and this early sacred music is thus variously known as Isidorian, Eugenian, Visigothic, *Melodico* and Mozarabic.[3]

II.

But the characteristic features of Spanish music, as far as they are to be distinguished from those of the national music of other countries, are certainly not Roman; and they are but to a very limited extent patriotic. They are the result, as far as it is possible to judge, of southern and eastern influences. The Basques, an essentially musical people, have, no doubt, exercised some influence upon the music as they have upon the

[1] *Musica*, says Isidore, *est peritia modulationis sono cantuque consistens. Etym.*, lib. iii., chap. xv. (He also defines it in his second book of the same work thus: *Musica est disciplina quæ de numeris loquitur qui ad aliquid sunt his qui inveniuntur in sonis.*—H.)

[2] St. Isidore, *Etymol.*; Riaño, *Early Spanish Music*, p. 144; C. Engel, *The Violin Family*, pp. 129-132; and *Musical News*, 6th March, 1891.

[3] Melodico is said to be as in contradistinction to Gregoriano. Riaño, pp. 5, 6.

The supplanting of the Gothic Ritual and Service Book by the Roman in Aragon in 1071, and in Castile in 1085, has been already spoken of, *ante*, vol. i., chap. xxiii.

There is a *Tractatus historico-chronologicus* prefixed to vol. vi. of JULY in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, upon the *Liturgia antiqua Hispanica, Gothica Isidoriana, Mosarabica, Toletana*, of great interest, pp. 1-112.

general character of the Spaniards. But Spanish music[1] is not Basque, and the inhabitants of the Castilian provinces that border upon Biscay are among the least musical people of the Peninsula. The influence of the troubadours of Provence and Catalonia was, no doubt, considerable during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, not only as regards poetry, but as regards music; but in neither case was the effect more than temporary; and the popularity of the *Jongleurs* and their compositions had died away, even in the north-eastern provinces, before the accession of Ferdinand of Aragon.

It is to Andalusia that we must look for the home and birthplace of the national music of Spain. Long before the Roman Conquest, the music and the musicians of that pleasure-loving province were celebrated in Italy as well as in Spain; and a company of Gaditanian singers and dancers was a necessary feature at the entertainments of every wealthy Roman host in the critical days of the empire. It was in Andalusia, moreover, in the eighth century, that the conquering Arabs found a sympathetic population—even then the most refined in the Peninsula. Music was cultivated with conspicuous success at the court of Cordova; while from the landing of the first Moslem in 711 to the fall of Granada in 1492 the influence that was exercised by the Arab upon the musical development of Spain was continuous and considerable. And although at the end of the fifteenth century the Moor was banished, and every Moorish sentiment uprooted and destroyed, this Arab influence still survives in the music of southern Spain, more lasting, it may be, than the exquisite colours of the Alhambra at Granada,

[1] Of modern works on Spanish music the most important are: 1. Mariano Soriano Fuertes, *Historia de la musica española desde la venida de los Fenicios hasta el año de* 1850 (Madrid, 1888). 2. Marcelino Menendez Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas esteticas en España* (Madrid, 1883). 3. J. F. Riaño, *Notes on Early Spanish Music* (London, 1887).

See also a very rare work, of which a copy is to be found in the library of the British Museum, by Pedro Cerone, published in Spanish at Naples, with an analysis of the works of many Spanish and Italian composers. See also Villoteau *Recherches sur l'analogie de la Musique avec les arts*, etc., etc. (Paris, 2 vols.' 1807). *Encyclopédie pittoresque de la Musique* (Paris, vol. i., pp. 88-97). Laborde, Cte A. De, *Itinéraire de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1834, vi., p. 390). Luca Ruiz y Riboyaz *Lus y Norte para gaminer por las cifras de la Guitarra Española* (Madrid, 1672). For Basque Music: F. Michel, *Traité de la Musique* (1857), pp. 435-440.

In the *Curiosités Historiques de la Musique* of M. Fétis (Paris, 1830) there is absolutely not a word about Spain or Spanish music of any kind. But in the same author's excellent *Histoire de la Musique* (5 vols., Paris, 1872), much that is useful will of course be found, though the amount of space devoted specially to Spain is infinitesimal.

no less characteristic than the thousand columns of the mosque at Cordova.[1]

For not only, says Mr. Engel,[2] do we still meet with certain forms and expressions in the popular songs of Spain which forcibly remind us of Arabic music; but also several of the Spanish musical instruments are of Arabic origin. The laud or lute is *al-oud* of the Arabs. The guitar, which has so long been not only the favourite but the characteristic instrument of Spain, is the Arab *Kintara*,[3] which is still played by the Moslems of Tunis.

The development of Spanish national music, indeed, has been greatly affected by the guitar. Modes and phrases that lent themselves to easy expression on the national instrument were most naturally and most easily repeated; and the Arab turns of musical phrase that came in with the guitar, have

[1] Mr. Engel (*National Music*, 349), seems to say that this influence was continued down to the banishment of the Moriscos by Philip III. But as a matter of fact, the influence of the Arabs, after the fall of Granada, upon the surrounding Christian population was almost *nil*. As an instance of this, it is strange to read that in 1532 there was no professor of Arabic at Salamanca (see *Quarterly Review*, No. 351, p. 151), and that Clenardus was urged to abandon his intention of even studying so barbarous and wicked a language. *Ibid.*, p. 154. He repaired, however, to Granada; but even there, thirty-eight years after the expulsion of the Moors, he could not find one single person to teach him the Arabic language; and after two months' search was enabled to purchase an African slave for thrice his market value, as being the only man in Granada capable of teaching him the language of Boabdil (*Id.*, 160, 161). Nor was he able to obtain any Arabic MSS., in spite of the assistance of the Emperor Charles V. himself, although it was urged that his object in studying the language was the conversion of Moslems and the overthrow of their theology. (The reason of Clenardus' failure to obtain Arabic tuition was not that no one in Granada spoke the language, for at the time in question, and long afterwards, it was spoken secretly in the privacy of their homes by thousands of Mudejares and Moriscos. But the fanatic Churchmen had already prohibited the speech, and bigotry was busy persecuting all Moriscos who dared to preserve any memory of their race. I agree with Mr. Engel that the Morisco influence on music in Spain continued till the expulsion.—H.)

The inquisitors did not desire such conversions. They desired only that the writings and the speech, of the Arab should remain unknown in Christian Spain. And it must at least be admitted that their endeavours were crowned with the most complete success. But it is idle for modern writers to pretend to suggest, as some have done, that learning was in *no way impeded or discouraged* by the Holy Office. A sixteenth century Dominican would have scorned the base apology.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 350.

[3] In *Spanish and Italian Folk-Songs*, by Alma Strettell (London, 1887), there are a few Flamenco, Gipsy or popular songs, given in musical score. The songs are for the most part *bailable*, *i.e.*, their music is appropriate for dancing as well as singing. Few are humorous or merry; nearly all grave and sad. Of the varieties mentioned in the introduction are (1) The ordinary Flamenco or Gipsy—the use of the word Flamenco for Gipsy is a puzzle—Martinetes, Carceleras, Soledades or Soleos, Malagueñas, Polos, Seguidillas, Estrivillos, Peteneras, Serranas, Doblas.

survived the decay of the Arab. If the guitar most aptly expresses the national musical feelings of the Spaniard, his national airs have grown under the hand that plucked and stopped his national instrument.[1] If the Church music of the Mozarabic mode was replaced by the graver measures of the Gregorian of general European Christianity, the popular airs of Spain were at all times lively, and, as far as can be judged at the present time, appropriate for dancing. Even down to the present day the popular songs of Spain are invariably sung to the music of popular dances.

Of Spanish dances the most interesting are the (1) Jota, (2) Fandango, (3) Seguidilla, (4) Bolero, (5) Tirana, (6) Polo, (7) Cachucha.[2]

[1] As to the origin of the Spanish *guitar* see Appendix ; and article "Guitar," by Mr. A. J. Hipkins, in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, vol. i., p. 641.

[2] (1) *Jotas*. Each northern province has its own Jota. The *Jota Aragonesa* is well exemplified in Glinke's piece of that name. Of the *Jota Navarra* there is a specimen in Sarasate's *Spanish Dances*, op. 22. *Cf.* Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, vol. ii., p. 43.

(2) The *Fandango*, an Andalusian dance, described as a variety of *Seguidilla*, originally a slow measure in six-eight, has of late assumed the characteristic Spanish rhythm, and is written in three-four time. See Grove, vol. iii., p. 502, where there is an amusing anecdote of the dancing of the Fandango before the Consistory.

(3) *Seguidilla*. Whether indigenous or of Moorish origin is unknown. It is written in three-four or three-eight time. From La Mancha it spread over Spain. Three divisions are described :—

Seg. Manchegas, of lively character.

Seg. Boleras (nothing to do with Bolero), of graver style.

Seg. Gitanas, very slow and sentimental.

The Seguidilla introduces the *Pasacalle* or popular street song, and the vocal refrain is an essential characteristic. See Grove's *Dict. Mus.*, vol. iii., p. 457, where references are given to examples.

(4) *Bolero*. Brisk dance in three-four time, with the characteristic castagnet rhythm. For examples see :—

Mehul's *Les deux Aveugles*.

The Gipsy ballet in Weber's *Preciosa ;* and Auber's *Masaniello*.

(5) *Tirana*. Is a graceful Andalusian dance and song, allied to a strongly rhythmed air in six-eight time. See Grove, p. 457, vol. iii., and p. 128, vol. iv., *op. cit.*, concerning *copla* and *estrevillo*.

(6) *Polo* or *Ole* is an Andalusian song and dance of the Spanish Gipsies, of semi-oriental character. For examples see J. Gansino, *La Joya de Andalucia*. Madrid, Romero, p. 9.

(7) *Cachucha*. An Andalusian dance in three-four time, somewhat resembling the Bolero. Grove, p. 290, vol. i., *op. cit.*

There are some good pages on the nature and origin of Spanish dancing in Soriano Fuertes, *op. cit.*, i., chap. vi.

It is interesting to note that Spohr wrote a violin concerto, or rather part three (Rondo) of a concerto, in G Minor (op. 28), while at Gotha, founded on Spanish melodies which he happened to hear from a Spanish soldier who was quartered (1808-9), in his house. Ludwig Spohr, *Selbstbiographie* (1860), i., 133.

And Weber similarly introduces several Spanish airs into his incidental music

III.

The Spanish popular melodies, says Mr. Engel, mainly derived from the Arabs, are generally founded upon a series of intervals, partaking of the character of the Phrygian and Mixolydian modes, formerly used in our Church music; and these have been preserved chiefly in Andalusia, where the influence of the Moors upon the musical taste of the people was naturally more powerful than in any other district of Spain.[1] As to the music of the Arabs in Spain, indeed, we have abundant evidence that the art was assiduously cultivated and magnificently patronised by the court at Cordova. The extraordinary position of Ziriab[2] has already been referred to; and although sacred or religious music is unknown in the Mohammedan form of worship, martial music, dance music, and, above all, vocal music, played an important part in the life of the Spanish Arabs.[3] As far as we can now understand their system, it would seem that instead of dividing the scale of the octave, as we do, into twelve semi-tones, the Arabs divided it into seventeen more delicate intervals, as may be heard, if not apprehended, by any modern traveller in Egypt or the further East at the present day.[4]

to *Preciosa*, also picked up from Spanish soldiers at Gotha. *Life of C. M. von Weber* (1864), i., 200 and 382, and ii., 238.

The most recent and most remarkable example is the *Habanera* in Bizet's *Carmen;* but modern opera teems with allusions to old Spanish dance tunes. See for instance Massenet's *Le Cid*.

The musical notation of the various cries of the night watchmen in Andalusia, and also in parts of Spanish America, are figured by Mr. Engel in his *Nat. Music*, 298-9.

[1] As to the Arab origin of the characteristic florid embellishments or turns, so often met with in Spanish music, both vocal and instrumental, see Engel, *National Music*, p. 103, where examples are given in score.

[2] See *ante*, vol. i., chap. xiii.

[3] La musique, l'art subjectif par excellence, est le seul que les Sémites aient connu. La peinture et la sculpture ont toujours été frappées chez eux d'une interdiction réligieuse. Renan, *Hist. Gen. des langues Sémitiques*, p. 12.

In the first part of Abulfaragi's work on the sciences, there is a treatise on music, containing 150 airs, and a notice of the lives of fourteen celebrated musicians and four singers. Al Farabi also wrote a work on music. See Viardot, *Essai*, i., 135.

There is a learned and most interesting disquisition on Arab music, its modes, notation and characteristics, in *Villoteau de l'Etat actuel de l'Art Musical en Egypte* (Paris, 1812), part iv., folio, pp. 1-240. There is a good account of Arab musical instruments in part i., cap. xiii.

[4] See J. P. N. Land, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe*, citing a manuscript history of Arab music, by Al Farabi, who died A.D. 950.

A most curious and ingenious form of musical notation, moreover, seems to have been at one time adopted by the Spanish Moslems, in which, while the notes were known by the names of certain letters of the alphabet, as in modern England, their duration was indicated by colours; thus green was the longest note, and may be taken to have represented the breve; pink indicated the lesser duration of the semibreve; dark blue the minim; yellow the crotchet; black the quaver; pale blue the semiquaver.

Of the musical instruments of the Arabs in Spain we can speak with greater confidence. Many of the forms have been handed down to modern times in the north of Africa, and not a few, modified and developed in the course of ages, still survive in modern Europe.[1] A list of no less than fifty-four instruments, whose names are given on reasonable authority, and most of which have, I trust, been fairly identified, will be found in the Appendix to this chapter.

IV.

How far the various Christian systems of musical notation that are found in Spain in the Middle Ages were suggested by that of the Arabs is uncertain. But while St. Isidore, in the seventh century, speaks of the impossibility of "writing down those fleeting sounds that escape the memory of man,"[2] we have Christian MSS. from the tenth century onwards, with musical signs of the character that are generally known as *neums* or numes.[3] The origin of these *neums* is profoundly uncertain, but Señor Riaño has discovered or suggested that they are based upon a form of the Visigothic alphabet,[4] consisting

[1] See for some account of Arab instruments generally, Daniel, *La Musique arabe* (Alger, 1865); F. Christianowitz, *Histoire de la Musique arabe* (Cologne, 1863), and particularly Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la Poésie et la Musique arabes*, Paris, 1886. And see Appendix to this chapter.

[2] Sonus quia sensibilis res est præterfluit in preteritum tempus imprimitur que memoriæ . . . nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, *quia scribi non possunt.* S. Isidore, *Etymol.*, lib. iii., cap. xv.[8]

[3] πνεύμα = breathing, or more probably νεῦμα = a sign. See an excellent article by Mr. Rockstro *ad hoc* in Grove's *Dictionary of Music.*

[4] An alphabet of the cursive handwriting or Visigothic cypher, from which the early *neums* are supposed to have been taken, is given by Mr. Riaño at pp. 103-108, with many interesting illustrations. As to the *Libro de las Cantigas*, one of the most ancient, and certainly one of the most interesting of the early mediæval poems of Spain, see *ante*, vol. i., chapter xxv.

As to the system of Boethius, who died in 521, the reforms of Gregory, and

of cursive characters, rarely used, but found in the signatures to documents of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries.[1] This interesting theory it developed with much learning and acuteness by Señor Riaño in his work on early Spanish music. He is of opinion that this system of *neums* was in use in Spain even previous to the tenth century, and that it may have been adopted in other European countries, where its origin has been long forgotten; and he finds a close resemblance to the Spanish *neums* in the system of notation employed in those celebrated musical MSS., the Gradual of St. Gall, sometimes called the *Antiphonarium de St. Gregorio*, and the *Antiphonaire de Montpellier*.[2] Square notes placed on lines take the place of the *neums* written over the words to be sung, in the thirteenth century; and one of the most beautiful and most interesting MSS. in the world is an example of this changing notation.

The *Libro de las Cantigas*, compiled by Alfonso X. of Castile, and otherwise known as *Los Loores y Milagros de Nuestra Señora*,[3] as a collection of 401 sacred poems or hymns set to music, traditionally ascribed to the king himself. The cali graphy and illumination of the MS. is of the highest artistic perfection; and on staves of five lines, square notes of various values are beautifully inscribed. The lines are some black, some red, the number of red lines varying from time to time, according to the rules, no doubt, of some system that has perished. The series of vignettes or drawings in the MS. itself, represents fifty-one musicians of the thirteenth century, each

more particularly as to the origin and early use of *neums*, see Fétis, *op. cit.*, iv., pp. 175-271. As to early Christian church music generally, and more particularly that of the Roman and Gallican liturgies, *ibid.*, 272-335.

One of the most valuable works on the early Spanish notation comes, strange to say, from Mexico, and is written by Lorenzana, Archbishop of Mexico, and Fabian y Tuero, Bishop of Puebla de los Angeles (Angelopolis), where the book was published in 1770. Both the reverend authors came originally from Toledo. Some very interesting extracts and illustrations are given by Mr. Riaño, p. 138.

[1] C'est aussi dans l'onzième siècle qu'on voit apparaître un nouveau système régulier de notation pour la musique mesurée. Fétis, *Hist.*, i., 169.

[2] Riaño, pp. 10-20. And as to the *Cantigas*, 47-49 and 108-122. See Pothier, *Les mélodies grégoriennes*; Hugo Riemann, *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift*; David et Lussy, *Histoire de la notation*, pp. 27, 43, 67; Félix Clément, *Histoire de la Musique*, p. 256; Señor Don F. Aznara, *Indumentaria Española* (1880); Fétis, *Histoire de la Musique*, iv., 175-271.

[3] A most superb edition of the *Cantigas* was published at Madrid in 1889 by the Royal Academy of Spain; the editor-in-chief being the Marques de Valmar. It is in two volumes, large 4to, pp. (228) 128 and (36) 796, superbly printed, with an admirable introduction and notes, and critical disquisition upon the various MSS., and what is still more rare in works of the kind, an excellent index.

one playing a different instrument,[1] whose name and characteristics—as far as I have, after much *assisted* study, been able to identify them—will be found, like those of their Arab congeners, in the Appendix.[2]

V.

The invasion of Spain during the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the monks of Cluny, for whom were reserved, owing chiefly to the ignorance of the native Spanish clergy, many of the highest ecclesiastical posts in the Peninsula, gave a French tone not only to Spanish ecclesiasticism but to Spanish art of every kind. Of their jealousy of the Mozarabic Ritual and Service Book I have already spoken. And it is not surprising that, after the great *Ritualistic* victory of the Cluniacs in the days of Alfonso VI., they should have supplanted not only the Missal but the music of Isidore. Thus, from the end of the eleventh century, the Gregorian chant was the only ecclesiastical music recognised by the Church in Spain;[3] and thus, although the sacred music of Spain is not without a certain distinctive character of its own, its individuality has suffered, just as the independence of Spanish religion and the originality of Spanish architecture have also suffered, from the tremendous influence of Cluny in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Yet the Mozarabic ritual was still observed in some churches; and there is even now a chapel in the Cathedral of Toledo where, with the independent approbation of Cardinal Ximenez, the ancient Mozarabic Service Book was formally restored and publicly followed, and where, to the present day, a special company of priests and choristers is engaged exclusively upon the performance of the ancient Ritual.

[1] After much study and examination, not only of books but of ancient instruments in the admirable collection in the South Kensington Museum, where I spent a very pleasant day in the company of a kind and valued critic, Mr. James Crosse Johnston, I have sought to identify them, as will be seen in the Appendix.

[2] The Archpriest of Hita, a well-known Castilian writer who flourished in 1300-1360, has left us the names of some thirty of the principal musical instruments used in his time. His list, with such notes as suggest themselves, is printed, together with other lists of instruments, in the Appendix to this chapter. *Vide* Riaño, pp. 128-130; Saez, *Demostracion Historica* (1796), pp. 340-342.

[3] As to the origin of the Gregorian chant, see Gevaert, *ubi sup.*, p. 20; and Fétis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, tom. iv., sub-tit., "Grégoire".

VI.

There was a great development of popular music in north-east Spain, and indeed throughout the Peninsula, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the art was cultivated and held in honour, not only at the courts and castles of Aragon, but among the pleasure-loving people of Provence, of Catalonia, and of Valencia.[1]

The *Gaya Ciencia* included music as well as poetry ; and the troubadour was not only a verse-maker, but a musical composer, a singer, and usually, if not always, skilled on some instrument. The *Jongleurs* especially were accomplished performers, and their music was quite as popular as their poetry.[2] Yet the study of sacred music was not entirely neglected in the Peninsula, and at Barcelona the celebrated Raymond Lull was a student and a professor of music of every kind.[3] The first Spanish writer of any importance after the time of Isidore who has treated of music in any form is this marvellous Majorcan, whose *Ars Magna* was given to the world in the year 1308. Of the profound learning and the extraordinary versatility of this wonder of the Middle Ages I have already spoken, and although the chapter on *Music* (chap. li.) in his great work may seem trivial, if not impertinent, to modern musicians, it may be studied with advantage by those who are concerned with the development of art in Spain.

Music, says he, is divided into natural and artificial ; the latter including the Harmonic, the Rhythmic, and the Metric.[4] To the Enharmonic corresponds natural and moral science ; to the Diatonic, divine and civil law ; to the Chromatic, the mathematics and economic sciences.[5]

The most ancient record of profane music in Spain that is known to exist is a romance entitled *Versos fechos en loor del Condestable*, set to music for four voices, and copied in the

[1] Barbieri, p. 11.

[2] As to the origin and signification of Joglar, Yoglar, Juglar, whence Juggler or Buffoon, Fr. Truhan, see Saez, *Demostracion*, etc. (1796). The first meaning would seem to be, players upon musical instruments, thence singers, and thence versifiers.

[3] See Bastero, *Crusca Provençal*, and *ante* vol. i., chap. xxvii.

[4] *Ars Magna*, li.

[5] See upon Lull and his musical theories, Menendez Pelayo, *Hist. de las Ideas Esteticas en España*, i., 262, 363.

See Riaño, 8 ; Soriana Fuertes, i., 134-139. In the *Ars Magna* (1308), Lull speaks of the art as *inventa ad ordinandum multas voces concordantes in unum cantum, sicut multa principia ad unam finem ;* and devotes an entire chapter of the *Ars Magna* to the subject.

Chronicle of the Constable, by Manuel Lucas de Franzo, about the year 1466; and MSS., with musical notes of the fourteenth century, are still in existence in Spain. We find also in the *Leges Palatinas* of King James II. of Aragon, in 1317, that musicians were employed in the king's service at least as early as that year.

In Castile, music was perhaps rather more of an aristocratic or courtly pastime than it was in Aragon.[1] Alfonso X. was a great patron of music, both sacred and profane; and his son, Don Sancho, in this respect at least, followed in his father's footsteps.[2] Many grandees of the fifteenth century kept salaried musicians in their households; and Isabella the Catholic was so great an amateur and patroness of the art that no less than forty singers, to say nothing of a large number of performers on various instruments, organs, clavichords and lauds, were constantly maintained in her service. The greater number of these private musicians would seem to have been attached to her chapel, and engaged in the performance of sacred music; but there is little doubt that music, both vocal and instrumental, of a secular character, was heard at court; and it is certain that the queen was too good a soldier not to cultivate military music in the camp and on the field of battle. At the siege of Baza, in 1489, especially, we are told that the Moors were astonished at the excellence of the military music, and at the serpents (*Bastardos*), the clarions (*clarines*), the trumpets (*trompetas*), the pipes (*chirimias*), the sacbuts (*sacabuches*), the dulcimers (*dulzainas*), and the kettle-drums (*atabales*), of which special mention is made by Bernaldez in his history.

In the inventory of the effects of Isabella the Catholic in the Alcazar at Segovia in 1503, preserved in the archives at Simancas, we find mention of a *ducemal*, *arpa*, three *chirimias* or boxwood pipes, a great number of lauds of different characters, carefully distinguished, fiddles, flutes, organs, and two old (viejos) *clavecimbalos mayores*.[3] Among the queen's books were large numbers of musical compositions, of which a list is given by Barbieri.[4] Alfonso X. established a Chair of Music in the University of Salamanca; and Cardinal Ximenez, on the foundation of his newer university

[1] The Basques had songs, dances and popular airs peculiar to themselves, and quite uninfluenced by any Provençal, French or Arab art.

[2] See Soriano Fuertes, i., 104-5.

[3] A predecessor of the hautboy. See Hipkins, 8.

[4] Barbieri, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

at Alcalá de Henares, in 1498, endowed a Chair of Music, to which the Aragonese Pedro Ciruelo was afterwards appointed.

One of the first acts of Don John, Prince of Asturias, the only son of Ferdinand and Isabella, on obtaining a separate establishment, was to engage professors and performers, as well of instrumental as of vocal music, at liberal salaries, and to provide his palace with claviorgans and organs (*clavicimbalos* and *clavicords*) guitars (*vihuelas de mano*), and fiddles (*vihuelas de arco*), tambourines, psalteries, dulcimers, harps, and a *rebelico muy precioso*.[1] Don John had also a large band of military musicians, whose instruments were apparently similar to those in use at the siege of Baza.[2]

VII.

The golden age of Spanish music is undoubtedly the last decade of the fifteenth century, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, when numerous works of importance on the art were written and published by natives of Spain, more especially Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja, *De Musica practica*, in 1482; Domingo Marcos Duran, *Lux Bella*, dedicated to Cardinal Ximenez, in 1492; and Guillermo Podio, *Ars Musicorum*, in 1495.[3]

[1] Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, *Libro de la Camara*, Barbieri, pp. 12. 13.

[2] See for a very brief sketch of the development of Spanish music in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Francisco Barbieri, *Cancionero Musical de los siglos XV. y XVI.* (Madrid, 1890), where there is also a list of Spanish composers and a great deal of popular music arranged for a number of voices; sm. music folio, p. 633.

[3] The following most interesting and valuable books of old Spanish music have been recently acquired by the British Museum, at the Heredia sale, and have been shown to me —an unsolicited favour—by Dr. Garnett, with the kindness that ever distinguishes those who rule and serve in that Palace of Letters :—

1. Ennriquez de Valderravano, *El excelente musico, Libro de Musica para Vihuela* (Valladolid, 1547). The music is written on six-line staves, with lozenge-shaped notes, some open, some full, and with numerals as well as notes, some red, some black, on the stave. The words set to music are in some cases Latin, but more frequently Castilian.

2. Diego Pisador, a book with a similar title and of similar character (1552).

3. *Libro de Musica para Vihuela intitulado Orphenica Lyra*, por Miguel de Fuenllana (Sevilla, 1554). A work of the same character as the preceding.

4. F. Joannis Navarro, *Gaditanis ordinis minorum regularis observantiæ, Liber*, etc. (Mexici, 1604). Various religious offices, all set to music in square notes on five-line staves.

5. Francisci Salinæ, Burgensis abbati, etc., etc., *De Musica libri septem* (Salmanticæ, 1592). A critical treatise on music in Latin, with illustrations in musical score, lozenge-shaped open notes on three-line staves.

6. *Libro Llamado arte de tañer Fantasia, assi para Tecla como para Vihuela . . . compuesto por . . .* Padre Fray Thomas de Sancta Maria (Valladolid, 1565).

A treatise on the theory and art of music, in which the elements of singing are presented with great minuteness, by one Alfonso Spañon, was printed by Pedro Brun at Seville in 1492. The *Sumula de Canto del organo, Contrapunto, y composicion vocal y instrumental, practica y speculativa* was printed at Salamanca at the end of the fifteenth century, and was dedicated to Archbishop Fonseca.[1] But many other books of music were published in Spain during the sixteenth century, including compositions for various instruments, notably the vihuela; and songs set to music for four, five, six, eight and even twelve voices.

Spanish music during the Renaissance possessed the same amount of development, and the same facilities for expression, that were to be found in Italy and France. But Italy rather than Spain attracted, during the *Cinquecento*, the greatest composers and performers of the Peninsula. Among these Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja, who was professor of music at the University of Salamanca, went to Italy and became a professor at the University of Bologna, where in 1482, he published the great work in which he developed his new theory of *temperamento*, which is said to have revolutionised the art of music. And no less than thirty-one more or less distinguished Spanish composers are said to have flourished in Italy during the sixteenth century.[2] The Spaniard Cristobal or Cristoforo Morales[3] was chapel

A *practical* treatise or method of instrumental music, full of illustrations; five-line staves, with lozenge-shaped notes, some open, some full, apparently breves, semibreves, minims, crotchets, quavers; some notes dotted.

The most remarkable contribution to our connected knowledge of Spanish music is the compilation of Miguel Hilarion Eslava (himself a composer of considerable fertility), *Lira sacro-hispana*, in ten vols., giving specimens in full score of the productions of the church composers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. It is a curious circumstance that this work, published at Madrid as recently as 1869, should now be a book of considerable rarity.

For this note, among many others, and for his constant help in the revision of this chapter, a printed line of thanks is very far from expressing my sense of obligation to my good friend Cecil Bendall.

[1] A great number of other Spanish works on the theory and practice of music, both vocal and instrumental, are given by Mr. Riaño, pp. 70-83. A very large number of missals and service books containing music, and existing only in MS. in the various libraries in Spain, some of them as old as the tenth century, have been discovered and catalogued by Mr. Riaño in his most interesting work, and are well worthy of attention, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-69. A number of early printed missals and service books are added, pp. 82-95. A quantity of very early printed instrumental music is, perhaps, even more interesting. Of these the *Libro de musica practica*, by Mos. Francisco Touar (Barcelona, 1510), is the earliest in date.

[2] For their names, see Riaño, 3, 4.

[3] The *Hispaniæ Schola Musicæ Sacræ* is now in process of publication at Leipsic. There are some of the works of Morales in vol. i.

master of the Sistine Chapel at Rome in the early part of the same century, and was perhaps the most celebrated composer in Italy before the time of Palestrina. No less than thirteen editions of his works were published in Italy in the sixteenth century. His most celebrated work is the *motet,* known as *The Lament of Jacob,* which is still performed and admired in England, and has been published in a popular form by Novello.[1] Nor is his less celebrated compatriot Vittoria—Tomas Luis de Victoria—another musician of the Sistine Chapel, less appreciated in modern times. He is known and loved, as I am told by an accomplished musical friend, almost as much as Palestrina, at least in the few circles where the motet is still practically cultivated. The Bach choir have performed many of his motets within recent years, and his works are to be found in modern as well as in ancient editions.

It was a Spaniard, moreover, Don Juan de Tapia, who founded and endowed at Naples, in 1537, the *Conservatorio della Madonna di Loretto,* the first school of music in Italy, and the model of all similar institutions that have since been created in Europe.

The compositions and performances of all these Spanish *virtuosi* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, would seem to have been exclusively of a sacred character. Of the popular music and musicians of 400 years ago, we have, as may be supposed, no record whatsoever.

[1] Edward Taylor, Gresham Professor of Music, in the introduction to his *Vocal Schools of Italy in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1839), p. 6, speaks of the motet of Morales, Lamentabatur Jacob, quoting a letter of an Italian musician of 1684, as *una delle piu belle melodie che noi habbiamo nella Capella Pontificale.*

APPENDICES.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

JUDICIAL TORTURE.

Unknown among the barbarians who founded the commonwealths of the modern world, judical torture had no existence in western Europe during the whole of the period that is scornfully characterised as the Dark Ages.

"In antient Greece," says Mr. Lecky (*Rationalism*, i., 328-9), "torture was never employed, except in cases of treason. In the best days of antient Rome, notwithstanding the notorious inhumanity of the people, it was exclusively confined to the slaves. The extraordinary ingenuity of mediæval ecclesiastical tortures, and the extent to which they were elaborated by the clergy . . . possesses a great but painful interest."

Judicial torture was revived in Christendom only in the middle of the thirteenth century, when Innocent IV. in his Bull *ad extirpanda*, in 1252, prescribed its use for the discovery and suppression of heresy.

A certain respect for ancient prejudices, indeed, constrained the Pope to forbid its actual administration by the inquisitors themselves, or even by the Familiars of the Holy Office, but this restraint was of very short duration. Four years only after the Bull of Innocent IV., Alexander IV. in 1256 removed the difficulty in a most characteristic fashion by authorising inquisitors and their associates to *absolve one another*, and mutually grant dispensation for irregularities of practice or procedure; a permission which was more than once repeated, and which was held to remove all canonical impediments to the use of torture under the direct supervision of the inquisitor himself.[1]

Although the extension of torture in secular judicial procedure

[1] Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, i., 421-2, and Appendix, xii., p. 575, where the Bull of Alexander IV. is given in the original Latin.

was remarkably slow, it grew rapidly in favour with the Church, and was found in general use, by the beginning of the fourteenth century, not only in the tribunals of the Inquisition, but in the ordinary ecclesiastical courts.[1]

Torture, it was cynically asserted, possessed many practical advantages. It saved the trouble and expense of prolonged imprisonment. It was a speedy and effective method of obtaining such revelations as might be desired.[2]

The torture of the accused, according to orthodox ecclesiastical procedure, might be *continued*, but not *repeated*. *Direct.*, iii., 313, 314. As a matter of practice, accordingly, at the end of each day's torment, the application was pronounced *adjourned ;* and the law ecclesiastical was thus obeyed.

A full and authoritative account of the tortures that were inflicted by the ecclesiastical tribunals will be found set out in cold-blooded and dreadful detail in the treatise *De Catholicis institutionibus Liber*, by Simancas, Bishop of Beja, printed at Rome in 1575 for the use of ecclesiastical judges, tit. lxv., *De Tormentis*, pp. 491 *ad fin.* The matter is disposed in 84 sections; and amid all the refinements of torture for the accused of all possible conditions, it is satisfactory to read (p. 49) that *clerici et monachi* rarius *et* mitius *torquendi sunt.*

Torture was inflicted by special inquisitors on *English* witnesses, in spite of English laws and free institutions, by the mandate of Clement V. in 1311 ; and the poor-spirited Edward II. did not dare to prohibit the Papal inquisitors from introducing it—as an ecclesiastical method—in the proceedings of the Holy Office in London, York and Lincoln, when Clement and Philip of France had determined to plunder and destroy the Knights Templars. See *ante*, vol. i., chapter xvi.

[1] Certainly in 1317. Lea, *op. cit.*, i., 556-8.

[2] *C'est assurément une coutume louable d'appliquer les criminels à la question*, says Eymeric, cap. v. (trans. Morellet, ed. 1762). (It may be added that judicial torture was expressly prohibited by the constitution of Aragon.—H.)

APPENDIX II.

CLUNY.

The world-renowned Abbey of the Benedictines at Cluny, near Mâcon, in Burgundy, was founded in 910 by William the Pious, the reigning Duke of Aquitaine; and in less than two centuries it had reached a position second only to Rome as a centre of religious or ecclesiastical life.[1] The Abbot of Cluny ranked above all other abbots, and was more powerful than any bishop in Christendom, under the nominal supremacy of the Pope at Rome. Consulted by kings and princes upon all the great political questions of the day, gratified by appreciative Popes with the title of *Abbé souverain* in 1091 and *Abbas abbatum* (in 1116), this greatest of abbots coined his own money, made his own laws, and was a temporal as well as a spiritual potentate, extending his influence, through subordinate religious houses, whose number is said at one time to have reached 2000, over every country in Europe.

The great Basilica, or Abbey Church at Cluny, was commenced by Hugh, the eighth abbot, in 1089, and finally completed in 1131, when it was consecrated by Innocent II., being at that time the largest church in Christendom, and one of the wonders of the mediæval world.[2] The conventual buildings were not only numerous, but they were designed on the grandest scale, and in the sixteenth century they covered a space of over twenty-five English acres. The refectory, the infirmary, the guest-house, or *hôtelerie*, were all of vast dimensions, and the façade of the stables alone was 280 feet in length.[3]

[1] It was the training school of four Popes—Gregory VII., Urban II., Paschal II. and Urban V.; and it was long the home of Peter the Venerable, the translator of the Coran.

[2] Duckett, p. 3. It was fifty feet longer than the modern St. Paul's, and only ten feet less than St. Peter's. Henry I. of England and Mathilda contributed very largely to the expenses of the work.

[3] Duckett (pp. 21-25) gives a list of the abbots of Cluny for 900 years—from Bernon, in 910, to Dominique de la Rochefoucauld, who died in exile in 1800.

After a long and splendid history, the abbey was sacked by the Huguenots in 1562; and the library was burned by the Jacobins in 1793, after the Order had been formally suppressed in 1790. Yet a large number of charters and MSS., which happily survived that destruction, were accidentally discovered—stowed away in the Town Hall of Cluny—in 1829, and purchased by the French Government.[1]

Of the great church at Cluny, one tower and part of the transept alone remain. But the ancient town residence or palace of the abbot in Paris, has survived the general wreck. Purchased by the French nation in 1833, and converted into a museum of antiquities, it is known to every visitor in modern Paris as the Hôtel Cluny.[2]

[1] The modern town of Cluny contains some 4000 inhabitants. See *Inventaire des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale: Fonds de Cluni*, par Léopold Delisle (1884).

The standard English works on the subject are: (1) *Record Evidences of the Ancient Abbey of Cluni*, by Sir George Duckett, Bart. (1886), one vol., p. 64; (2) *Charters and Records of the Ancient Abbey of Cluni*, from 1077 to 1534, by Sir George Duckett, Bart. (1888), two vols., pp. 262-325, including extracts, indexes and lists of various kinds, printed from the original MSS., with an excellent historical introduction, i., pp. 1-40, giving the best available account of the rise and progress of the great abbey and its dependencies.

[2] A few of the books and MSS. had previously found their way into the *Bibliothèque nationale*, and even into the British Museum. There are some drawings of the interior of the old Abbey of Cluny in Sir John Hawkin's *History of Gothic Architecture* (1813).

APPENDIX III.

EARLY SPANISH MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

I.—*Spanish Arab Instruments of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries.*

(See p. 76.)

The following list of musical instruments used by the Spanish Arabs is taken from a MS. in the Escurial by Mahmud Ibrahim Axalehi—No. 69—*apud* Soriano-Fuertes, *Historia de la Musica Española*, pp. 89-92. I am indebted to my friend Mr. A. G. Ellis of the Oriental Department of the British Museum for most kindly and with much pains revising this note, of which the entire value, as regards the Arabic etymologies, is due to his scholarship and research :—

1. Adufe—*ad-Duff ;* Tambourine, said by Axalehi to be the oldest of Arab musical instruments.
2. Alguirbal—*al-Ghirbâl ;* a sieve, hence a Tambourine, synonymous with the preceding.
3. Almasafeh—*al-Masâfih*, plural of *Masfah ;* clapping of hands.
4. Alkimar—*al-Qimâr ;* dice, possibly a rattle of some kind.
5. Alazaf—*al-Azf ;* the generic name for all pulsatile instruments of music, such as Lutes and Mandolines.
6. Almizar ; possibly an error for *al-Mizân*, not a classic name for any musical instrument. MM. Delphin and Guin, *Notes sur la poésie et la musique arabes dans le Maghreb algérien*, p. 42, say that the Tambourine is called in Morocco *Mizân*.

At the present day in Tunis, Algiers and Egypt, the Tambourine is called *Tar*.

7. Alaud—*al'oud*, a Laud or Lute. See Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, vol. ii., pp. 107-110 ; *al-rêd*, was anciently made with four strings, now with seven double strings.

Note.—Before Ziriab's time the lute was, according to the old fashion, composed of four strings only, which answered, it was supposed, to the four elementary principles of the body, and expressed the four natural sounds. Ziriab, however, added to it another red string, which he placed in the middle, by which addition the instrument was considerably improved, and a more harmonious sound than before produced.

This was not the only improvement devised by Ziriab in this department of music. He also introduced the use of eagles' talons instead of the wooden plectra which were formerly in use, and this he did on account of the soft down which covers the claw of that bird. El Makkari, *apud* Gayangos, ii. 118, 119.

8. Arrabil—*ar-Rabâb;* Rebel or Rebeck, a Fiddle with two strings.
9. Alkirren—*al-Qarn;* Horn. The ordinary word for Horn in any sense.
10. Asanga—*as-Sanj*, Persian *chang*, a species of Lute mentioned by el-Fârâbi in his treatise on music.
11. Alkitrara—Guitar. The word used at the present day for a Guitar in northern Africa is *Kouitra* (Delphin and Guin, p. 46), probably the vulgar pronunciation for *Kuweïtira*, which would be the diminutive of some such word as *Kîtâra*.
12. Almiazaf—*al-Mizaf;* a synonym of *al-Azf*, and derived from the same root. *See* No. 5.
13. Almizmar—*al-Mizmâr;* a musical Reed or Pipe; now-a-days usually a Flute. Delphin and Guin (p. 41) explain it by "Flûte de Pan".
14. Almeya—*al-Mâya?* Salvador Daniel, *La Musique arabe*, p. 41, says that *Mêïa* is the name of an instrument as well as of a mode; but I have not been able to find out what kind of an instrument it was.
15. Alcuceba—*al-Quçêïba*, diminutive of *Qaçab*, a Reed. *See* No. 23.
16. Albuque—*al-Bûq;* a Trumpet, properly a War Trumpet.
17. Altabal—*al-Tabl;* a Drum, or? Tambourine.
18. Alcozo?
19. Alcuba?
20. Alayre?
21. Atambur; "a kind of Lute" (Engel); "a Drum" (Dozy and Engelmann); *al-Tambûr*, a kind of Mandolin with cords of brass wire, played with a plectrum, said to be a Persian word. The name appears to be also applied now-a-days by the Arabs to a military Drum.
22. Albarbet—a kind of Fiddle; probably *βαρβιτόν*. Avicenna, in his work on music, calls the Lute *al-Barbût*.
23. Alcasib—*al-Qaçab;* Reed or Pipe. *See* No. 15.

24. Axahika—*ash-Shahîqa ; Shahîq*, signifies the final note of the braying of an ass ; also any high sounding, moaning note. X in mediæval Spanish always transliterated the Arab sh. The J sound is comparatively modern.
25. Asafilz ?
26. Axiron ?
27. Alkitraret. *See* No. 11.
28. Alantaba ?
29. Alcudiba ?
30. Kabar ?
31. Xahin ?
32. Mizamir—plural of *Mizmâr ;* perhaps a double Flute or Pipes. *See* No. 13.
33. Tambor de Cufa. *See* No. 21. Doubtless the special form of instrument called the *Tambûr* of Bagdad, which is described by el-Fârâbi.
34. Camretes ?
35. Xabeba—*ash-Shabbâba ;* a species of Flute.
36. Sofar—*Saffâra ;* a Whistle or Fife, apparently of metal, according to Fétis, a Flute.
37. Alataran ?
38. Juf-taf. Drum. (Fétis.)
39. Sofar-array—*Saffârat ar Râi*, Shepherd's Pipe. *Sofar* is not a classical but a popular form. The instrument is called by Señor Soriano-Fuertes, *Chiflo de pastor.*
40. Casib-array—*Qaçabat ar-Rai*, Shepherd's Reed. *Qaçaba* would be the noun of unity of *Qaçab*, which is a general term. The instrument is called by Senor Soriano-Fuertes *Zampoña de pastor.* See *Don Quixote*, part ii., chap. lxxiii. *Está ya duro el alcacer para Zampoñas.*
41. Xakikar ?
42. Mizmar is No. 13, without the article—a Flute.
43. Neyo—*Nay ;* a Reed, a Persian word, *qaçab* being the corresponding Arabic, a Flute. (Fétis.)

In other Catalogues I have also found the following :—

44. Añafil—*an-Nafîr ;* a metal Trumpet.
45. Rebel. *See* No. 8.
46. Rebab do.
47. Zambra—a band of musicians. Plural of *Zâmir*, a musician.
48. Tambur—a mandolin. (Fétis, ii., 145.) *See* Nos. 21 and 33.
49. Canon—*Qânun ;* a trapezoid Zither, or Tables, Gr. κανὼν.

There is a specimen in the British Museum.

50. Santir—a Dulcimer, not unlike the above. Gr. ψαλτήριον. *Instrument monté avec des cordes de fil de laiton, et qu'on touche avec de petites baguettes de bois, composé d'une seule caisse plate, en bois, de forme trapézoide, de même que le qânon arabe.* Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes.*
51. Kissar—*Kisar, qîsâr,* or *qîtâr,* a word used in modern Arabic —doubtless the Greek κιθάρα, a Guitar. *See* No. 11.
52. Kemanyeh—*Kamanja;* Viol. An instrument known throughout all western Asia and north Africa.
53. Tabal—*Tabl;* Drum. The diminutive *Tubeïla* (vulgar *T'bîla*) is used for Tambourine.
54. Nakara—*Naqqarâh;* Kettle Drum.

II.—*Musical Instruments in use in Christian Spain in the Thirteenth Century, from the Illuminated MS. of the* Cantigas *of Alfonso X., circa* 1275.

(See page 78.)

1. Pair of small Drums or unknown instrument of percussion, one in each hand.
2. Large curved Horn (cornetto curvo).
3. Large straight Horn.
4. Tambour or tom-tom.
5. Double-pipe—Recorder.
6. Cymbals (round).
7. Lute (3 strings).
8. Bells (7 Bells hung on a frame).
9. Flageolet, Arabic *soufárá.* *Cf.* Fétis, ii., 153.
10. Flute; in Arabic *chababu* = No. 35 of List I.
11. Castanets (one pair in each hand).
12. Double Flageolet.
13. Large *cornetto curvo,* or Horn pierced with holes.
14. Tambour (larger than No. 4).
15. Pipe and Tabor.
16. Apparently a variety of the Lute, with no neck, large sounding box or caisse, and three strings plucked with the fingers of the right hand.
17, 18. Dulcimers, or Santirs. This instrument is correctly styled in English, Hackbut, *sive* Hackbrett—a butcher's chopping block.

19. 20. Straight metal Trumpets.
21-25. Five Lutes; Arabic *Tambûr* (the strings plucked with the hand); three with five strings; two with three strings. *See* No. 48 of List I., and Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, ii., 137.
26-28. Two Viols or Vihuelas, or Fiddles (the strings to be rubbed with a bow), one with four strings, one with three strings. The Arab *Kamanyeh*. *See* No. 52 of List I.
29, 30. Two Rebecs or Viols of two strings, with bow.
31, 32. Two Lutes of eight strings.
33, 34. Two Lutes of three strings.
35. Threefold or Triple Pipe.
36. Four-stringed Kitra, kitâra, or guitar. *See* Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, ii., 127.
37. Five-stringed ditto.
38. Cymbals (round).
39, 40. Two Vielles, *organistro*, or hurdy-gurdies. *Cf.* Engel, *The Violin Family*, p. 74. These are specimens of the greater Vielle or *organistrum* for two performers. The common or single Vielle was known in the thirteenth century as a *Symphonium*.[1]
41. Two-stringed Viol or Rebec.
42. Large ten-stringed Lute or Theorbo (single-headed). The Archilute was met with even in the seventeenth century. Our friend Pepys certainly played upon one.
43, 44. Two rectangular Harps.
45. Bells; three large bells hung from beam set in masonry.
46. Dulcimer or *santîr?* Arab, *qânun? Cf.* Fétis, *Hist. de la Musique*, ii., 128.
47. Flute (*flauto traverso*).
48. Three-stringed Viol, with bow.
49. Portable Organ, with nine pipes and bellows, blown with the left hand.
50. Large Flageolet.
51, 52. Horns, *cornetti curvi*, apparently of horn.
53. Bagpipes.

[1] The old Latin name for the Viella, or hurdy-gurdy, is *organistrum*. In the large form it took two persons to play the instrument, as it was so long as to lie across the knees of both. The *artist* touched the keys, the *handle turner* was no more important than the modern organ bellows blower. The summit of the arch of the Gate of Glory of Santiago de Compostella, a cast of which is at South Kensington, is occupied by two figures playing an organistrum. The date of this great Spanish work is 1188. And see Hipkin's, in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, i., 641.

54, 55. Two-stringed Lute, the strings plucked with the finger.
56. Flageolet.
57, 58. Two varieties of Bagpipe.
59. Horn, large and very much curved, with globular wind chamber, and apparently pierced.
60. Large Dulcimer or Hackbut.

III.—*List of Musical Instruments in common or popular use in Spain, according to Juan Ruiz, Archpriest of Hita, in the middle of the Fourteenth Century.*

1. Atambor—a kind of Arab Lute; No. 21 of List I. *Cf.* Engel, *The Violin*, 107, 108, 116; and Soriano-Fuertes, i., 105, iv., 208, and Hilarion Eslava, *apud* Engel, *ubi supra*.
2. Guitarra Morisca—Guitar with four or five strings; the origin of the modern Guitar.
3. Guitarra Latina (not *ladino*, as sometimes quoted)—the origin of the modern Fiddle.
4. Laud—Lute; Arab, *a'loud*.
5. Rabe (Rebec)—Violin with two strings.
6. Garabi (*Gaita de pellejo*)—perhaps a Fiddle bow; Sanskrit, *gáriba*.
7. Mota—?
8. Salterio—Psaltery.
9. Vihuela de Penola—metal-strung Guitar, struck with a quill. See Engel, *The Violin Family*, 121, 122.

The word *vihuela* itself is said to be derived from Lat. *vitula, vitella*, according to Diez, from *vitulari*, to skip like a calf; the violin (*vitula jocosa*) being the usual instrument of merriment. From such a root is derived, no doubt, the French *vielle*, and all kindred words.

10. Medio Cano—a small Flute.
11. Rabe Morisco—Violin of three strings.
12. Galipe Francisco (Dulzaina)—a wind instrument.
13. Rota—hurdy-gurdy.
14. Tamborete—Double bass.
15. Vihuela de Arco—Fiddle and bow.
16. Caño Entero—Flute.
17. Panderete—perhaps a small Pandura or Lute of three strings.
18. Azofar. Azofar = As-Sofar. No. 36 of List I.
19. Organos—Organ; Fr., *Les orgues*.

20. Citola Albordada—large Fiddle. The ordinary *citola* was a small Dulcimer played as it rested on the lap of the performer. Engel, *The Violin*, 62.
21. Gayta—Arab. *Ghaito*, "*musette à anche*". (Delphin and Guin.)
22. Exabeba—No. 35 of List I. and No. 10 of List II.
23. Albogon—Oboe.
24. Cinfonia—Jew's Harp?
25. Baldosa—Double Drum.
26. Odrecillo—a little wine skin, perhaps the *belly* of some stringed instrument.
27. Bandurria—Mandolin.
28. Trompas—Trumpets, or Horns.
29. Anafiles—metal Trumpets. No. 44 of List I.
30. Atabales—Cymbals. No. 53 of List I.

I have derived much information from Emil de Travers, *Histoire des Instruments de Musique du XIV. Siècle* (Paris, 1882); but I have in every instance, when possible, *seen* a specimen of the instrument I have described, in many cases in very good company, as suggested at p. 78, *note* 1.

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Brigantium
Lucus Aug.
U Legionis
Asturica Aug.
GALLAECIA
AQUITANIA S. NARBONENSIS
Rhodas
Emporium
Numantia
Cæsaraugusta
TARRACONENSIS
Portus Cale
Bracara Aug.
Durius
Salmantica
Iberus
Tarraco
Dertosa
MINOR
MAJOR
INSULÆ
BALEARES
Toletum
Tagus
Saguntum
Emerita Aug.
CARTHAGINENSIS
LUSITANIA
BÆTICA
Corduba
HISPALIS
Carthago Nova
Urci
Sacrum
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Malaca
Calpe
Tingis
MAURETANIA
TINGITANA
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FROM A.D. 325.
English Miles
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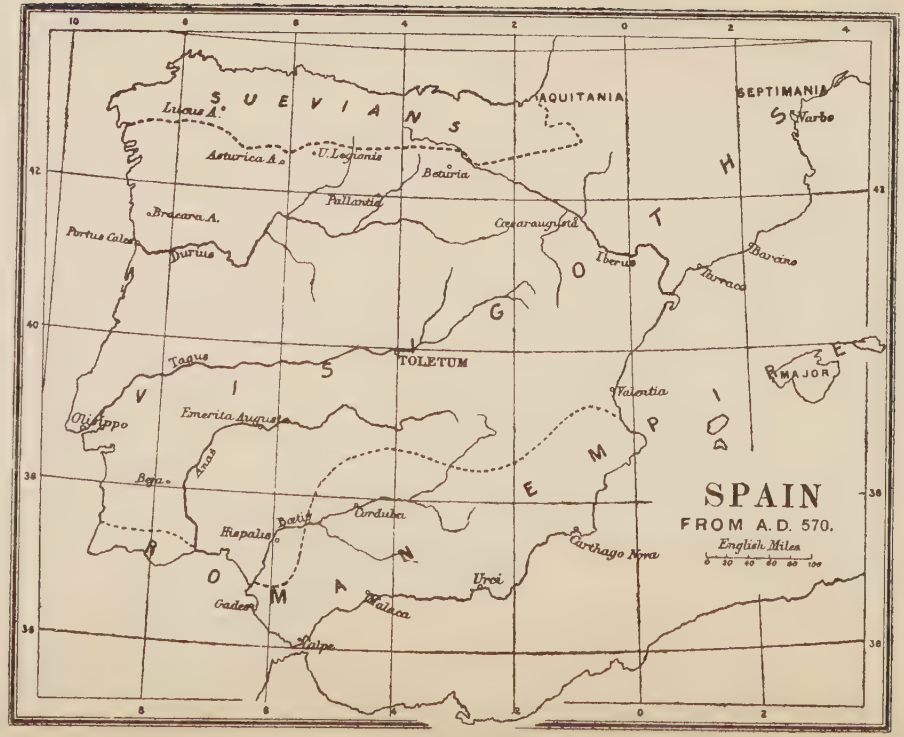
SUEVIANS
AQUITANIA
SEPTIMANIA
Lucus A.
Asturica A.
U. Legionis
Beturia
Pallantia
Bracara A.
Portus Cale
Durius
Caesaraugusta
Iberus
Barcino
Tarraco
VISIGOTHS
Tagus
TOLETUM
Valentia
P. MAJOR
Olisippo
Emerita Augusta
Anas
Baetis
Corduba
Hispalis
Carthago Nova
Malaca
Gades
Ulci
Calpe
ROMAN EMPIRE
SPAIN
FROM A.D. 570.
English Miles

AQUITAINE
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MOORISH STATES
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Huesca
SARAGOSSA
Porto C.
Douro
Salamanca
Calatayud
Ebro
Tarragona
BARCELONA
Coimbra
Tagus
Toledo
CALIPHATE of CORDOVA
Valencia
MOORISH
Merida
Guadiana
CORDOVA
Jaen
Guadalquivir
Seville
Granada
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GASCONY
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Narbonne
CATALONIA
ZARAGOSSA
ARAGON
Zamora
Porto
Douro
PORTUGAL
Salamanca
Calatayud
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Avila
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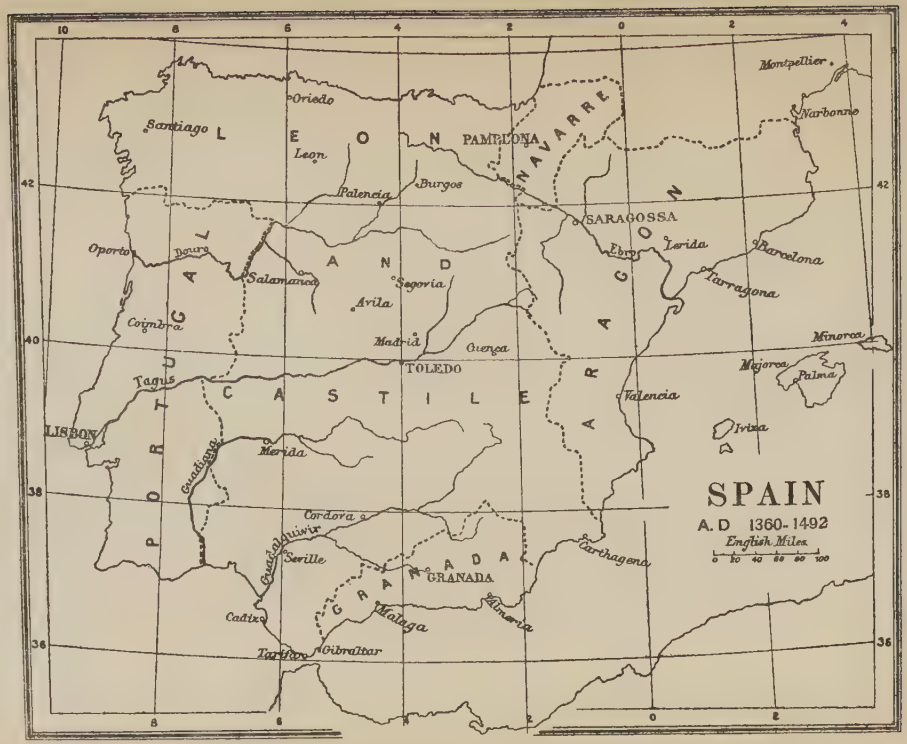
SPAIN
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Segovia
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Tarragona
Avila
Coimbra
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Minorca
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Majorca
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Tagus
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Bayonne
Bidache
Orthez
Bastide
Laurenti
San Sebastian
Navarrenx
Mauléon
Oloron
St. Jean
Pied de Port
Pyrenees
PAMPLONA
Estella
Viana
R. Aragon
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Huesca
Tudela
Tarazona
R. Ebro
Saragossa
Epila
SPAIN
FRANCE
NAVARRE
A.D. 1500.
English Miles